

# TIME



## Do They Dare?

The Democrats will likely impeach

By MOLLY BALL

*Plus* Why that's a terrible idea by David French

# HELP SAVE THE FRIDGE

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Spitsbergen, Norway.

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**Gladys**—a young Nigerian who traveled to Italy to work in a hair salon but was trafficked into prostitution—in the shelter where she is temporarily living near Asti, Italy

*Photograph by Lynsey Addario for TIME*

**ON THE COVER:**  
*Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME*

# Conversation



## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

**THE DALAI LAMA** Charlie Campbell's March 18 profile of the spiritual leader drew praise from readers for the way it crystallized complex spiritual and political issues. "TIME magazine has become the best source of clear Buddhist perspective and teaching that I subscribe to," wrote Kristen Larson, a Diamond Sangha Zen teacher in Port Angeles, Wash.

Dorjee Lhamo, who lives in Germany and has Tibetan roots, described being "so happy to be able to just show my friends an article for them to understand what 'Tibet' is and what is happening to us Tibetans." And as someone who practices Buddhism in a place where his belief system is "not well understood," Benjamin Peters of Lexington, Ky., wrote that the article provides "much-needed clarity about the Dalai Lama's life."

**PRIVATE JONES COMES HOME** W.J. Hennigan's March 11 story about the U.S. military returning the remains of Korean War soldier Hoover Jones to his family had readers in tears. Lois McNutt of Muncy, Pa., cried for "the sisters who never gave up waiting

for their brother." Air Force vet Donald Nanney, of Peachtree Corners, Ga., cried for his own brother, who also died in Korea; the lengths to which the military goes to identify remains made him "proud to be an American veteran," he added. And Tim Ackert of Orlando cried for all the soldiers like Jones, "sent into harm's way" by the nation's leaders.

**'Should be required reading for all politicians who do not serve in the military.'**

ERNEST F.  
MCADAMS JR.,  
Cincinnati

*If [we] listen to his wisdom the world will be a better place!*

@INFAUXTEK  
Twitter

## Back in TIME

1998 and 1973

This week's cover story (page 26) isn't the first to address the possibility of a U.S. President's impeachment. Read how TIME covered President Clinton's 1998 impeachment over the Monica Lewinsky scandal, as well as the magazine's 1973 take on calls for President Nixon's impeachment for Watergate, at [time.com/vault](http://time.com/vault)



**RESPECT** TIME is partnering on a new film about Aretha Franklin's famed two-night performance at a Los Angeles church in January 1972. Debuting in April, *Amazing Grace* features never-before-seen footage of the diva recording her album of that name. More info at [time.com/aretha-film](http://time.com/aretha-film)



## bonus TIME politics

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**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT** ▶ Because of an editing error in "Move Over, Soccer" (March 18), we misstated the location of Worthington, Minn. It is in the southwestern part of the state. In "Laughing Stock" (March 11), we misstated the age of Daniel Baker, who is known as Desus Nice. He is 37.

### TALK TO US

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# For the Record

**'It is simply not good enough to vote for a blindfold Brexit.'**

**JEREMY CORBYN**, U.K. Labour Party leader, in the March 12 House of Commons debate of PM Theresa May's Brexit plan shortly before it was rejected

*'When the hell will someone in this government broadcast to the public that Israel is a country for all its citizens.'*

**ROTEM SELA**, Israeli TV host and model, in a March 9 Instagram story that prompted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to fire back on social media that, according to a 2018 law, Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people alone

**50**

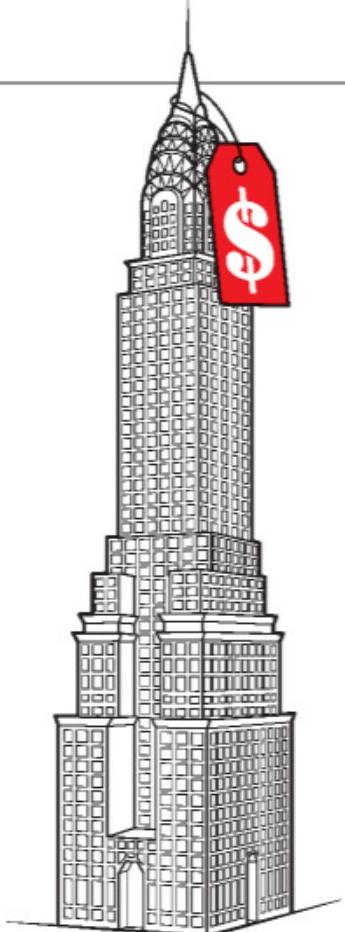
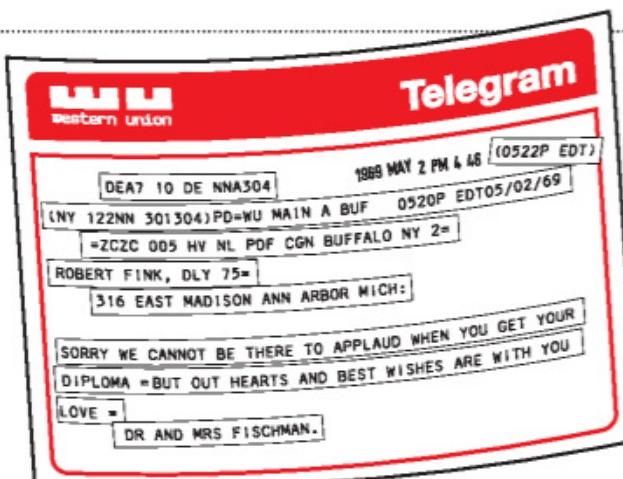
**Number of years it took a May 2, 1969, telegram congratulating a University of Michigan alum on his college graduation to get to the recipient; a Good Samaritan found it at the bottom of a filing cabinet bought secondhand**

**'THERE WILL NOT BE A SEPARATE ADMISSIONS SYSTEM FOR THE WEALTHY. AND THERE WILL NOT BE A SEPARATE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM EITHER.'**

**ANDREW LELLING**, U.S. Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, announcing on March 12 the largest college-admissions racket ever alleged by the Justice Department; among the dozens charged with scheming to get students into elite schools are college coaches, exam administrators and wealthy parents

**'My dad is sad cause no one is coming to his new donut shop.'**

**BILLY BY**, in a March 9 tweet about his dad Satharith By's shop in Missouri City, Texas; after hundreds of thousands of retweets, the store sold out of doughnuts two days in a row



**\$150 million**

Approximate amount paid by real estate investor Aby Rosen's company, RFR, to purchase New York City's iconic Chrysler Building

*'It's healthy for your self-esteem to need less Internet praise.'*

**TAYLOR SWIFT**, singer-songwriter, in a piece for *Elle* about lessons she's learned before turning 30

**Honda**  
Automaker recalls 1.2 million cars over potentially faulty airbags



**Fonda**  
Actor Jane Fonda will be inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame

# The Brief

## TANGLED

The FAA moved erratically after the Ethiopian Airlines crash on March 10



INSIDE

PUTIN'S PUSH FOR  
CONTROL OF RUSSIA'S INTERNET  
DRAWS PROTESTS

AS SAUDI ARABIA PURSUES  
WOMEN FLEEING THE KINGDOM,  
TWO SISTERS ARE STRANDED

LAURIE SIMMONS ON  
PIONEERING ARTIST  
CAROLEE SCHNEEMANN

PHOTOGRAPH BY MULUGETA AYENE

# The Brief Opener

AVIATION

## Boeing, the FAA and newly nervous flyers

By Alex Fitzpatrick

**M**ARCH 10 DAWNED IN ADDIS ABABA WITH excellent visibility and little wind, perfect flying weather that nonetheless became a backdrop for tragedy. That morning, Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 crashed minutes after takeoff, killing all 157 people aboard. Emergency responders discovered only burning wreckage and bodies. The victims' loved ones were left to grieve and wait for answers.

The world waits with them. The incident was the second fatal crash involving a Boeing 737 Max 8 in just five months. Another Max 8, flown by Indonesia's Lion Air, also crashed quickly after takeoff in October, killing everyone aboard. Experts have speculated that a new automated system meant to prevent "aerodynamic stalls"—which occur when a plane isn't producing enough lift and are addressed by pointing its nose down—may have sent the Lion Air plane into a dive after detecting a stall where none existed.

In the case of Ethiopian Flight 302, it will take months, maybe even years, to determine the cause of the crash. What we know about the Lion Air crash comes from only a preliminary report. But together, the incidents pressured airlines and their regulators worldwide to act—and shone a harsh spotlight on the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), the agency that oversees U.S. aviation safety.

After the second crash, China, Australia and Ethiopia were quick to ground the Max, which has been Boeing's fastest-selling plane ever. Other places, including the E.U., followed suit. In the U.S., however, the FAA insisted the plane was safe to fly, even as it announced a new requirement that airlines install an April software update for the Max. But the pressure was intense. Passengers bombarded Southwest and American Airlines, which both fly the aircraft, with Twitter requests to change airplanes, and flight attendants' unions demanded that their employers ground the plane. Boeing lost \$12.7 billion in market value on March 11 alone. Many American travelers, assured on every flight that the FAA was concerned about nothing more than their safety, began to wonder.

Then came the abrupt reversal. On March 13, during a briefing on another subject, President Trump announced that "all of those planes are grounded, effective immediately." The airlines worked quickly to rearrange their fleets, and even Boeing appeared to scramble to get ahead of the news. In a subsequent announcement, the

company said that while it still had "full confidence in the safety of the 737 Max," it was recommending that all of the planes worldwide be grounded temporarily as the company works to understand what went wrong.

That's the question. Two unrelated crashes in five months is awful luck. Two crashes caused by the same issue is something far worse.

**AS RECENTLY AS MARCH 12**, the FAA had said it had "no basis" to ground the aircraft, and Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao even flew on a Max 8 with her staff from Texas to Washington, D.C. She wasn't alone: in the time between the Flight 302 disaster and the FAA's about-face, the Max 8 flew between U.S. cities dozens of times, carrying hundreds of passengers. Boeing has a generous lobbying budget, and the company's chairman phoned Trump personally to argue against grounding the plane.

The FAA said its shift in policy came after it received new information from the developing investigation. Data collected from the Ethiopian crash site, combined with satellite-based tracking data, "indicates some similarities between" the Ethiopian Airlines and Lion Air crashes, the FAA reported on March 13. Those data, the agency continued, "warrant further investigation of the possibility of a shared cause."

While regulating air travel serves to reassure the public, zigzagging is never helpful. Flying remains the safest major means of travel, so perhaps the most striking aspect of the disaster response was that the FAA itself was fanning apprehensions about air travel. The agency is running on autopilot; none of its top three officials has been confirmed by the Senate. But it does have precedent for grounding an entire type of aircraft, and the 737 Max 8 is just beginning commercial service and so is still in limited use worldwide. Its grounding will likely have a minor impact on most passengers.

"There's no question in my mind that if those two events had happened in our country, the aircraft would be grounded," said Jim Hall, a past head of the National Transportation Safety Board, speaking to TIME before the FAA announcement. A handful of complaints from American 737 Max pilots have been logged in a federal database since the aircraft's introduction in 2017, though it's unclear if those issues are linked to the two downed aircraft. Michael Barr, a former Air Force fighter pilot and an accident-investigation instructor, criticized the agency's decision to wait.

The world's 737 Max fleet will remain grounded until further notice, and Boeing and the FAA alike will surely face additional questions. As for answers, the world will look to Flight 302's black boxes, which are on their way to be analyzed in France. Whatever they reveal should make aviation safer in the future—if the system works the way it should. —With reporting by W.J. HENNIGAN



1

Number of fatal aviation accidents for every 2,520,000 flights in 2018

\$122 MILLION

Average price of a Boeing 737 Max 8

376

Number of Boeing 737 Max aircraft delivered to airlines through February 2019



**FORAGERS** Five days into a massive power outage that cut electricity across Venezuela, people collect water from a broken pipe at the Guaire River in Caracas on March 11. Already dealing with economic crisis, Venezuelans struggled to access food and water, and hospitals were left in darkness. Opposition leaders said at least 21 people died in the blackout and blamed Nicolás Maduro's regime for failing to invest in the power system. Without evidence, Maduro accused the U.S. of an "attack" on that infrastructure.

#### THE BULLETIN

## Russians rally against plans for an 'online Iron Curtain'

CHANTING "HANDS OFF THE INTERNET" and "No to isolation," thousands of Russians joined protests in Moscow and other cities on March 10 to denounce new legislation that would severely tighten state control of the Internet. Lawmakers say isolating Russia from the global Internet will protect the country's networks, but critics accuse the Kremlin of trying to create what some are calling an "online Iron Curtain."

**ONLINE OVERHAUL** In recent years, Vladimir Putin's government has introduced a raft of measures curbing Russians' online freedoms, including blocking the messaging app Telegram in 2018. In February, a digital-sovereignty bill took the first step toward becoming law; it's expected to pass, banning Internet traffic from being routed through foreign servers and requiring it to pass through state-controlled infrastructure. Putin is also expected to sign off soon on two more laws to impose heavy fines on individuals and media outlets that publish "fake news" or material deemed "disrespectful" to authorities.

**DANGEROUS GAME** Last year, in the wake of revelations that Russian hackers tried to influence the 2016 elections, U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton warned that Washington would respond "offensively as well as defensively" to foreign cyberattacks. The sovereignty bill specifically cites the "aggressive character" of U.S. policy and promises that by reducing Russia's reliance on U.S. web infrastructure, the state will be able to keep the Internet running in the event of a cyberwar. Local media say a trial disconnect from foreign servers will take place by April.

**ANOTHER GREAT FIREWALL** Protesters say the reforms will give Putin an unprecedented ability to suppress criticism in a nation where offline forms of dissent like street protest are already tightly regulated. Many fear Russia's social media and search engines will soon resemble China's strictly censored Internet. The Internet has been a powerful tool for people around the world to challenge authoritarianism—but if other states follow Putin's lead, observers worry, that era could be ending. —CIARA NUGENT

#### NEWS TICKER

## Theresa May's Brexit deal rejected

The bargain that British Prime Minister Theresa May struck with the E.U. to ensure an "orderly Brexit" was **voted down for a second time by lawmakers on March 12, by a margin of 149 votes**, leaving the U.K. on course to crash out of the bloc without a deal on March 29—unless U.K. lawmakers and E.U. officials agree to delay Britain's exit.

## Study finds race disparity in air pollution

Air pollution in the U.S. is disproportionately caused by white people, while **black and Hispanic people are more likely to suffer its consequences**, according to a study published March 11 in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*.

## Yemen strikes kill a dozen children

The U.N. said March 11 that 22 civilians, including 12 children, were **killed in a 48-hour period by airstrikes in Yemen**. As many as 30 more civilians were injured, including 14 children. The U.N. did not say who was responsible, and the warring Houthi rebels and Saudi-led coalition forces blamed each other.

## NEWS TICKER

### Manafort sentenced to 7.5 years

Former Trump campaign head **Paul Manafort was ordered to spend a total of 90 months in prison** after federal courts gave him two partially overlapping sentences for a variety of crimes.

Less than an hour after the second was handed down on March 13, Manhattan's D.A. unsealed fresh charges against him.

### Southeast Asia meth output booming

The amount of methamphetamine produced in Southeast Asia soared in 2018, per a March 11 U.N. report. **Prices of the drug have dropped and usage has gone up**—with 116 tons seized in 2018, compared with less than 40 tons in 2013—as organized crime has become more involved in the trade.

### California halts death penalty

California Governor Gavin Newsom signed an order on March 13 putting a moratorium on the death penalty in his state, thus **granting a reprieve to the 737 people on death row there**. Court challenges had stalled executions in California since 2006, but the move is expected to stir national debate.

## GOOD QUESTION

### Why is Saudi Arabia targeting women who flee the kingdom?

ABOUT SIX MONTHS AGO, TWO SAUDI SISTERS, known by the aliases Reem and Rawan, found themselves stranded in Hong Kong after they bolted during a family vacation to Sri Lanka. They say that, during a stopover, Saudi consular officials prevented them from boarding a flight to Australia, where they had intended to seek asylum. Now, they face an April 8 deadline to leave Hong Kong after being told in March that their stay will be “tolerated” a few more weeks; where they’ll go is unclear.

Their plight is the latest in a string of high-profile cases of Saudi women who manage to escape the grip of repressive families in the ultraconservative Gulf state—the sisters describe their home situation as “slavery”—only to land in the crosshairs of the kingdom’s efforts to suppress Saudis abroad.

Though Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman was once praised in the West as a reformer for moves such as allowing women to drive, experts say he has emboldened embassies and affiliates to silence critics through intimidation and forced repatriation. Targets appear to stretch beyond outspoken dissidents like journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was murdered in October inside the Saudi consulate in Turkey, to include women seeking refuge abroad. The most prominent is Rahaf Mohammed al-Qunun, who was

18 years old when she made headlines in January after barricading herself in a Thai hotel room. She received asylum in Canada.

“Saudi Arabia perceives these women as threatening the general order and violating the guardianship system,” says Amnesty International’s Dana Ahmed, referring to regulations that grant male guardians total control over women’s lives. Though the phenomenon of Saudi women fleeing the country is not new, such departures now implicitly undermine the crown prince’s claims to be modernizing the country, says Ahmed. Since the prince’s rise, the number of all Saudi asylum seekers has grown, from 575 in 2015 to more than 1,200 in 2017, according to U.N. figures.

Reem, 18, and Rawan, 20, say their passports were revoked in November and that appeals to Australia, Canada, France, Germany and New Zealand have led nowhere. While it’s not uncommon for asylum seekers to face protracted legal limbo in the face of different countries’ policies, runaway Saudi women often don’t have time for a bureaucratic slog. Other asylum seekers in Hong Kong “aren’t from places that have a history of forcibly taking women back who then disappear,” they tweeted on Feb. 27.

They say they’ve done their best to evade their Saudi pursuers, moving 13 times and severing contact with family. But they haven’t stopped looking over their shoulders. “I don’t regret trying to leave, especially when I remember what happened there,” Rawan told TIME. “But I realize that if the government wants to chase me, no one will protect me.”

—LAIGNEE BARRON

## TRAVEL

### Instagrammed to death

With Instagram tourists flocking to the **picturesque Rue Crémieux** in Paris, its residents are asking the city for street gates that can be locked on evenings and weekends. Here, other spots struggling with social-media fame. —Abigail Abrams



**THREE POOLS**  
After photos of the swimming hole in Oregon led it to blow up in popularity, the U.S. Forest Service limited parking on the site in 2015 to prevent fires. It added new rules in 2017 prohibiting alcohol too.

**PUBLIC HOUSING**  
Choi Hung Estate is a decades-old public-housing complex in Hong Kong. But its rainbow-colored backyard and basketball courts have been overrun by people lying down or interrupting games to take photos.

**DEVIL'S BATHTUB**  
A hiking trail to a Virginia swimming hole went viral on social media in 2014, though locals said it's nothing special. The wave of unprepared hikers led to a spike in costly rescues, according to officials.

# Milestones

## DIED

**Kelly Catlin**, a three-time world champion and Olympic silver medalist in women's pursuit cycling, on March 8 at age 23.

## SUED

U.S. Soccer, by **28 members of the national women's soccer team**. The March 8 filing alleged gender discrimination in how they are paid and treated compared with male players.

## ISSUED

Subpoenas related to the financing of **four major Trump Organization projects**, by the New York attorney general's office on March 11.

## ARRESTED

Two former police officers, on March 12, for the **murder of Brazilian politician Marielle Franco** last year. The Rio city councilwoman had been outspoken on police brutality.

## RESIGNED

**Juan Sanchez**, CEO of Southwest Key Programs, a nonprofit that runs shelters that house migrant children for the U.S. government, on March 11 amid scrutiny of the group's finances.

## SENTENCED

A Ugandan woman in London to prison on March 8 for the **genital mutilation** of her daughter. She is the first person in the U.K. to be convicted of the crime.

## DENIED

A new trial for **Adnan Syed**, the subject of the *Serial* podcast, by Maryland's court of appeals on March 8.

INSTAGRAM: GETTY IMAGES; SCHNEEMANN: JANETTE BECKMAN—GETTY IMAGES; AISYAH: TATAN SYUFLANA—AP



*Schneemann poses for a portrait at her home on Aug. 23, 2017*

## DIED

### **Carolee Schneemann** Artists' artist

By Laurie Simmons

ALTHOUGH CAROLEE SCHNEEMANN CLAIMED SHE WOULD LIVE and die as a painter, her work broke nearly every rule of that tradition. Carolee established a catalog of thought on gender, sex and the politics of representation from which I and almost every woman artist I admire has taken a page. Way before the ideas of sex-positive feminism emerged in the '80s, her body-positive, pro-sensual art put her at odds with both '60s feminists who saw her as exploitative and male artists and critics who saw her work as a tease.

Like young artists today, Carolee, who died on March 6 at 79, moved freely between mediums—going beyond painting to film, performance, photography, installation, collage, sculpture, drawing and writing. She reimagined the ways the human body could become art, whether using it as a nonsexual prop or artfully filming seductive kisses with her beloved cats. She was the consummate artists' artist and, although she did not achieve mainstream recognition until the last years of her life, she was, to us, a goddess who existed outside the rules of art-world engagement. Understanding the full impact of her work on contemporary art, thought and history will take years.

**Simmons** is an artist and filmmaker

## FREED

**Siti Aisyah**  
*Surprise release*

THE EVIDENCE SEEMED compelling. Security footage showed two women approach Kim Jong Nam, estranged half brother of North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, in Kuala Lumpur airport on Feb. 13, 2017, and put their hands to his face.

That simple move killed the 45-year-old, an international playboy who had fallen out with his younger brother's regime. He died en route to a hospital from exposure to VX nerve agent.

The women, both migrant workers, claim they thought they were taking part in a harmless TV prank. (Four North Korean men who immediately fled Malaysia were also charged and are still at large.) On March 11, Indonesian national Siti Aisyah, 27, was freed after Malaysia dropped her murder charge without explanation. "I did not expect that today I would be released," she said.

Malaysia's attorney general acknowledged relations between Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta would factor into any decision on the case. Aisyah's alleged accomplice, Doan Thi Huong, 30, is from Vietnam. With Aisyah free, Doan was left facing the possibility of a death sentence while her lawyer appealed for her to receive a similar reprieve.

—CHARLIE CAMPBELL



# The Brief The Guardians



Mehman Huseynov, pictured before his January 2017 trial, is fighting for press freedom in Azerbaijan

## JOURNALISM

### Two brothers in Azerbaijan pay the price for speaking out

NEITHER OF THE HUSEYNOV BROTHERS got to see their mother before she died last year. Journalist Emin Huseynov had been stripped of Azeri citizenship and rendered stateless after he escaped the oil-rich Central Asian country for Switzerland in 2015. His younger brother Mehman, also a reporter, was serving a two-year sentence for allegedly defaming a police officer he said tortured him.

Denied the chance to visit his mother in the hospital, Mehman was granted only a few hours' leave to attend her funeral. In a graveside statement, he angered authorities anew when he criticized President Ilham Aliyev and said he would continue exposing the high-level corruption that affects some 10 million Azeris. "I wanted to show them that even in the most difficult part of my life, you can't break my will," Mehman, 29, told TIME.

The murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi has drawn significant attention to how authoritarian regimes target journalists. A case in point is what Reporters Without Borders' (RSF) Rebecca Vincent calls a "perpetually worsening crackdown" in Azerbaijan. RSF says at least four journalists have been killed with impunity since 2005 in the former Soviet republic, which ranks 163 out of 180 countries on its press-

freedom index. The persecution of the Huseynovs, Vincent says, reflects Aliyev's "very personal" way of targeting critics.

Known as a satirical voice poking fun at the ruling elite, Mehman had also chaired a free-speech advocacy group set up by Emin, who escaped a police crackdown in 2014 by taking refuge in Baku's Swiss embassy. Emin spent 10 months there before eventually leaving the country with a visiting Swiss delegation. His fellow journalist Rasim Aliyev died in 2015 after being beaten in a what authorities called an altercation over soccer. "He was murdered, and it's clear to us the investigation was not free and fair," Emin, 39, says from Geneva.

A few months before Mehman's scheduled release date, authorities brought new charges that could have extended his term by up to seven years. In response, he went on a hunger strike and inspired thousands to take part in massive street protests. In a rare concession, Azerbaijan's prosecutor canceled the new charges in late January.

On March 2, the morning of his release, Mehman visited the cemetery where his mother is buried. Keen to remind the Aliyev regime that past crimes will not be forgotten, he also recorded a tribute at the grave of Elmar Huseynov, a journalist gunned down in 2005. With 700,000 followers on Instagram, Facebook and YouTube, Mehman wants to use his platform to highlight the plight of other jailed dissidents in Azerbaijan. He understands the risks, he says, but "I can't imagine my life without this work." —JOSEPH HINCKS

## REMEMBRANCE

### The book of the dead

ON THE COVER OF THE LAST Column, what looks like field of mottled black is, in fact, more than 1,300 names. Some are renowned: Marie Colvin. James Foley. Jamal Khashoggi. Others have been known only within the communities they served. But all are remembered here for the same reason. They are journalists who have been killed in the line of duty.

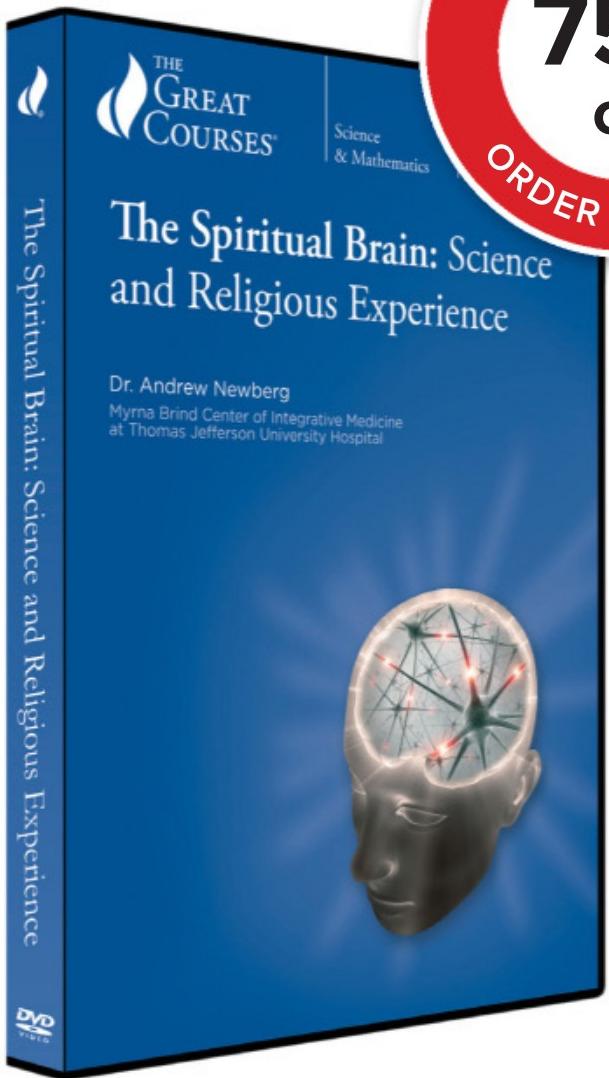
*The Last Column*, a new project from the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), announced on March 13, includes a book that features those journalists' final works as well as a short documentary series. While each piece tells its own tale, together they highlight the lengths to which dedicated reporters will go in the effort to provide information, Joel Simon, the CPJ's executive director, tells TIME. Many of the journalists featured had previously received threats to their lives, and had decided to forge ahead anyway, dedicated to work that they knew put them at risk.

"When you put it all together in one place," Simon says, "you realize this is what journalism is."

—MAHITA GAJANAN



HUSEYNOV: AZIZ KARIMOV



## Are Our Brains Wired to Worship?

Does God exist? Do we have a soul? Can we make contact with a spiritual realm? Religion plays such a prominent role in the human experience and is so pervasive across cultures that, whatever your beliefs, you have probably pondered these questions. Now, neurotheologians are studying the reasons why.

In the 24 riveting lectures of **The Spiritual Brain**, award-winning scholar and practicing neuroscientist Dr. Andrew Newberg, Director of Research at the Myrna Brind Center of Integrative Medicine at Thomas Jefferson University Hospital, examines the emerging science on the connection between brain function and spirituality. You'll investigate the neural activity of the religious brain, the effects of spiritual belief and practice on mental and physical health, and many other fascinating areas of research.

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# The Brief TIME with ...

## Broadcaster **Jay Bilas** breaks down March Madness and any qualms about savoring it

By Sean Gregory

IN THE DEN OF JAY BILAS' CHARLOTTE, N.C., home, framed pictures commemorate his collegiate basketball career at Duke, his days as a pro overseas and the critical reception of *I Come in Peace*, the 1990 sci-fi thriller that stars Dolph Lundgren but features Bilas in the role of Azeck, alien cop. (*Los Angeles Times: I COME IN PEACE SHOULD GO AWAY.*) But that's the past. Today, through his platform as an analyst at ESPN and a Twitter account with nearly 2 million followers, Bilas has emerged as a sort of conscience of college basketball. His is a singular voice that can both deftly break down game tactics for passionate fans and eviscerate the business model supporting the entire enterprise. He's a fierce critic of amateurism, the NCAA policy that facilitates a free market for handsomely compensated coaches, administrators and TV executives—everyone involved in college basketball, it seems, except the players themselves.

So I've journeyed to Charlotte to ask Bilas whether he, who makes a living in the game, reporters who write about it, or anyone who watches college basketball or simply fills out an annual March Madness bracket in the office pool is complicit in supporting a business that, according to Bilas, is "just wrong to the point of immoral."

Jay Bilas, can we make our tournament picks in peace?

Sure, he says. (*Whew.*) If you don't like a law in America, after all, you don't up and leave the country. You push for change. Bilas knows the skeptics' line: Since you despise amateurism so much, why don't you quit your job and do something else? "I find that reasoning to be nonsensical," he says. "The fact that I differ in policy matters doesn't mean I don't love the endeavor. I love it, that's why I opine on it. If I didn't love it, I wouldn't care."

The 6-ft. 8-in. former center is a licensed attorney who, before becoming ESPN's lead college-basketball analyst, once subpoenaed Barney the purple dinosaur in a costume copyright-infringement case. But over the past decade or so, Bilas, as much as any public figure, has pushed the case for paying players out of the halls of academia and into the mainstream. He called BS when high school officials in Alabama benched a star basketball player this season because she had deposited an accidental payment from USA Basketball and when

### BILAS QUICK FACTS

**Duke days**  
Bilas, the starting center for Mike Krzyzewski's first Final Four team, in 1986, averaged 8.4 points per game on 56% shooting at Duke.

**On the bench**  
While he was an assistant coach from 1989 to 1992, the Blue Devils won two national titles and finished as national runner-up.

**Camera-ready**  
A member of the Screen Actors Guild since 1988, Bilas has appeared in Budweiser and Minolta commercials.

the NCAA investigated former Texas A&M quarterback Johnny Manziel for selling his autograph at the same time his jersey was being sold on its shopping website. On March 13, Bilas called out the NCAA via Twitter for its tepid two-sentence response to a sweeping college-admissions scandal; several coaches have been accused of accepting bribes to falsely present high school students as athletes in order to ensure their admission to elite universities. Admirers love his hammering. Critics tell him to shut up about this stuff already.

Not likely. On March 8, a federal judge in California found that the NCAA amateurism rules violate antitrust law. She ordered the NCAA to remove caps on compensation related to education for things like tutoring, computers and science equipment. The ruling, ostensibly a victory for the players, falls far short of imposing a free-market system in which college athletes can earn their full worth. In an environment in which multimedia rights to the NCAA men's basketball tournament go for \$8.8 billion and coaches can make north of \$7 million per year, he believes school leaders will eventually have to do the right thing on their own and fairly compensate players. "The idea that the free market works for the entire world, save the athletes, is ludicrous to me," says Bilas. "Absolutely ludicrous."

**BILAS, WHO GREW UP** in the Los Angeles area, started sensing this economic imbalance in the mid-1980s, while playing at Duke. But he wasn't about to speak up publicly. "You knew what got rewarded and what didn't," he says. "I wasn't Norma Rae or anything." When a former Duke player brought up the idea of boycotting the 1986 Final Four in Dallas, which Bilas and his teammates had reached in his senior season, his response was, "Why don't we do it next year?"

After his Blue Devils lost to Louisville in that year's national championship game, Bilas, now 55, played professionally in Italy for two seasons and in Spain for part of a third. He picked up the alien acting gig—sadly, Azeck's head exploded—one off-season. Bilas soured on pro ball after his Spanish team fined him for missing practice time to take the LSAT and accepted both a spot in Duke's law school and one on Mike Krzyzewski's bench, as an assistant coach. He loved coaching but not the itinerant lifestyle, so he settled with his wife Wendy in Charlotte, where he joined a law firm. Soon came offers to call games on local radio, and he joined ESPN as a full-time analyst. He keeps his old office and pitches in on recruiting and business development, but "there's going to be a point where they walk in and say, 'Pack your sh-t and get out.'"

As a broadcaster, Bilas figured if he could call out players and coaches for messing up, why



should NCAA leadership be off-limits? Wendy encouraged him to sign onto Twitter 10 years ago so he could prove he had more personality than your average geek watching hoops film all day. Bilas is like your bald, slightly hip, bright and upright bio teacher. He tweets rap lyrics from Young Jeezy, daily, before signing off with “I gotta go to work” (since, while once corresponding with a Twitter user, he ended the conversation by saying he actually did have to go to work). Bilas trades in self-deprecation—“You must have low standards,” he told a tickled crowd at a Charlotte fundraising benefit where he was the guest speaker. He’s a needler who can take being needled and, ever the lawyer, recognizes that words matter, not least his own. During the March 9 Duke–North Carolina game in Chapel Hill, he observed on air that the rebounding of North Carolina’s Cameron Johnson has improved “immeasurably.” He then chastised himself, off the air, at halftime. Rebounds, like most things in sports, are nothing if not quantified. “F-cking idiot,” he said backstage.

Bilas was present for the most momentous

**The idea  
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ludicrous.**

JAY BILAS

episode of the regular season: the foot of Duke superstar freshman Zion Williamson ripping through his Nike shoe, resulting in a knee sprain. If Zion’s back at full strength for the tournament, Bilas likes his alma mater’s chances. Zion’s too, of course. “As long as he stays healthy, he’s going to make a billion dollars,” Bilas says of the presumptive top pick in the NBA draft. A Cinderella player to watch: arguably the best shooter in college basketball, Wofford guard Fletcher Magee. “Sounds like he should be somebody’s butler,” Bilas deadpans.

Before wrapping up our talk in the den, I ask Bilas for some bracket tips, now that we don’t have to feel crappy about obsessing over March Madness and all. Earnestly, he suggests going to KenPom.com, a stats site for hoops wonks, and checking out every team’s offensive and defensive efficiency stats. *Okaaay.* Bilas recalibrates. Most Americans are allergic to KenPom.com and just want to finish the damn bracket before the deadline. Sensing this, he checks out of “Bilastrator” mode and comes out with a bit of sensible advice. “Go with the toughest mascot,” he says. □

# LightBox

## Out of the darkness

In the Syrian desert outside Baghouz, a woman resumes her journey after being screened by the U.S.-backed Syrian Democratic Forces on Feb. 25. She and her infant were among hundreds of civilians in a series of mass evacuations from the last sliver of the country's territory still held by ISIS. Traveling in dozens of trucks that typically transport sheep, the evacuees told the Associated Press that food had begun to run low within the ISIS-controlled area, and that medicine and water were in short supply. At its peak, the militant group held one-third of Iraq and Syria, terrorizing millions of people there while also inspiring attacks worldwide. Its last holdout covers a width of just about a mile along the Euphrates River.

**Photograph by Felipe Dana—AP**

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LightBox





*A man who sustained injuries during an airstrike that targeted ISIS's last Syrian enclave is treated at a reception area for evacuees in Deir ez-Zor province, near Iraq's border, on March 10*

*Photograph by  
Gabriel Chaim—AP*

## Announcement

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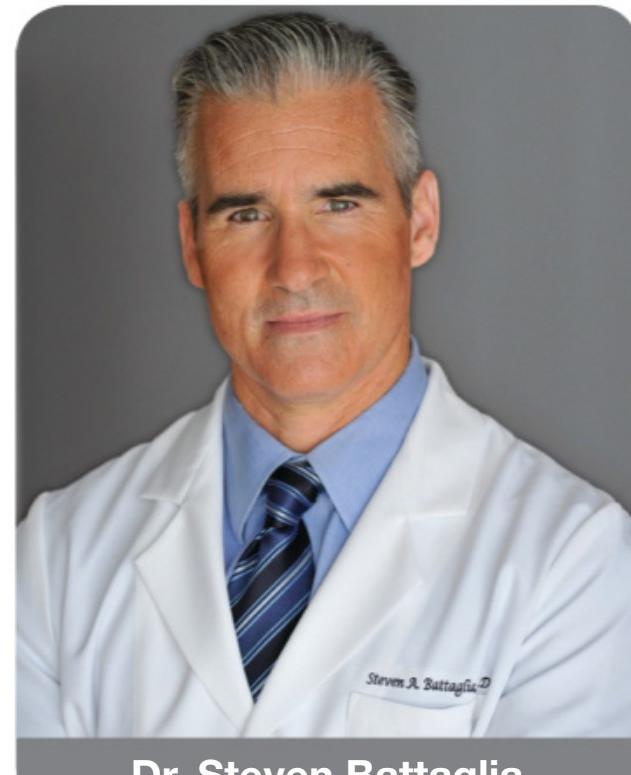
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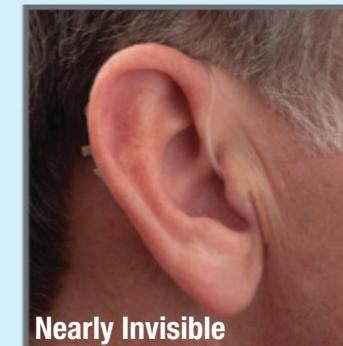


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# The View

WEATHER

## FORECASTING CATASTROPHE

By Thomas E. Weber

The tornado that devastated Lee County, Alabama, on March 3 came as a shock, but not a surprise. Meteorologists had warned of severe weather days in advance. Forecasters monitored the area closely, blasting out warnings as soon as individual tornadoes were detected. Despite those efforts, 23 people died. ▶

INSIDE

THE CASE FOR NOT COUNTING OUT DONALD TRUMP IN 2020

THE INVENTOR OF THE INTERNET, ON FIXING HIS CREATION

WHAT THE COLLEGE-ADMISSION BRIBERY SCANDAL SAYS ABOUT HOW HIGHER EDUCATION FAILS

# The View Opener

How can we be so good at predicting dangerous weather and still lose so many lives in a single day? The answer lies in understanding not only the storms but also the people—and the impact of income, class, ethnicity, culture and, most of all, inequality on how we react to hazards.

While solving the factors that put specific groups at greater risk would be a monumental task, there's a more realistic fix: smarter warnings. Alerts that not only describe the weather but also take into account human demographics and psychology could save lives. Yet work on this front surprisingly remains in very early stages.

The tragedy of Lee County illustrates one issue: mobile homes, which accounted for multiple fatalities as the 170-m.p.h. winds annihilated the structures. In 2015, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's National

Severe Storms Laboratory (NSSL) launched a pioneering project called VORTEX-Southeast to examine why tornadoes are disproportionately deadly in the southeastern U.S. Researchers there have discovered that lower-income individuals living in mobile homes are not only at greater risk for storm dangers but also can be less prepared to respond to warnings.

The risk part of the equation is simple. Mobile homes, while affordable, are less able to withstand high winds. The response side is more complicated. VORTEX surveys found that mobile-home residents were essentially as likely as anyone to follow the general guidance for taking shelter in a tornado, which is to get to an interior room on the lowest floor, ideally the basement. Problem is, the recommendation for what to do in a mobile home is very different: get out, and go to an underground shelter or a permanent building.

"It seems they heard this messaging from the weather service that goes out to everyone, that says get inside," says Kim Klockow-McClain, who leads the Societal Impacts Group at NSSL. "But it fails these people, because that's not what they need to do."

Communication, whether it comes from

government officials, radio or TV broadcasters, or a smartphone app, must provide the right message to the right people. For mobile-home dwellers, the lead times from actual warnings—which average 15 to 16 minutes but can be shorter—are usually too narrow to make it to safety. Instead they must pay particular attention to public alerts that tornadoes are possible—called watches—and make sure they are able to quickly get to shelter if a warning comes. That guidance should be emphasized in advance forecasts.

**AS THE SCIENCE** of predicting tornadoes improves, weather experts envision something between a watch and a warning. This could alert people to increasing odds of a tornado in their area before it actually forms—especially helpful to those who can't quickly duck into a basement.

Of course, tornadoes are a danger to everyone, and the Lee County storm was strong enough to destroy permanent homes too. It will take weeks or months to fully understand why the death toll in Alabama was so high. (Indeed, the tragedy appears likely to become an important case study.) And as a

practical matter, smarter warnings aren't enough if people can't find safety; many mobile-home communities throughout the country still lack shelters.

Inequality like this can take many other forms—all of which need to be examined more closely. In hurricane- and flood-prone areas, for instance, researchers are considering such variables as making sure immigrant populations get critical warnings delivered in the proper language, and how the cost of temporary relocation affects low-income families' decisions on whether to evacuate.

Even as scientists work to improve predictions of dangerous weather, more accurate forecasts aren't enough. Researchers need to understand the human equation to get the right information to the right people. With climate change driving extreme weather, both avenues of progress will be crucial in saving lives. □



*In Lee County, Alabama, a tornado left a path of destruction more than 26 miles long on March 3*

## SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on [time.com/ideas](http://time.com/ideas)

### Ending an atrocity

Every day in Yemen, eight children are killed or injured in an ongoing humanitarian crisis. Nobel Peace laureate Tawakkol Karman argues that a rule should be applied to the outside forces waging war there: **"More money should not be spent on bombs than on lifesaving aid."**

### The nuclear option

Hans Blix, former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, calls for re-devoting ourselves to using nuclear power—and rethinking our view of radioactive waste.

He writes, "One might even say that **nuclear waste is one of the greatest assets of nuclear power**, as it is so small in volume that it can be—and is—safely taken care of in its entirety."

### Believing the next crisis

President Trump's declaration of a national emergency may cause unintended harm, say public-health law experts

James G. Hodge Jr. and Lawrence O. Gostin, by **"increasing public skepticism of critical health responses,"** constraining future Presidents' abilities to act in more dire times.

THE RISK REPORT

## Ignore the polls. Trump has a shrewd strategy to win back the White House in 2020

By Ian Bremmer



MANY FOREIGN leaders, both U.S. allies and rivals, likely expect to be dealing with a new U.S. President after next year's election. Donald

Trump's domestic troubles are mounting, and his poll numbers have been consistently low by historical standards. His favorability rating has never topped 50% in any poll published by Gallup.

But regular political math doesn't apply to this President. In fact, at this early stage, Trump's odds of re-election are close to a coin flip. Low poll numbers didn't keep him from winning the presidency in 2016. He defeated Hillary Clinton with just 46.1% of the popular vote and a mere 26.8% of all eligible voters.

He could repeat the same feat. According to Republican Party pollster Frank Luntz, Trump "has a greater degree of support within his party than any Republican President has ever had since they started polling." If enough Democrats aren't happy with the party's nominee, overwhelming GOP support might be enough for Trump to win.

Another reason so many are underestimating Trump's chances has to do with a shrewd bit of campaign strategy. "Nationalist populism," a phenomenon that's lifted many a lesser-known politician to prominence on both sides of the Atlantic, takes a slightly different form in the U.S. from that of Europe. In countries like France, Italy and Germany, it is national identity that tends to separate "us vs. them." Race and ethnicity play a big role in U.S. politics as well, of course, but there's also a large ideological element that determines who gets defined as alien.

In 2016, Trump cast undocumented immigrants as the key threat to national security and harmony. Next year, he will do the same to Democrats themselves.

**By labeling Democrats as 'socialist,' Trump has calculated he can boost his chances of lifting GOP turnout and drawing centrist voters**

He has calculated that by labeling the Democratic Party and their presidential nominee as "socialist," he can boost his chances of lifting Republican turnout and drawing centrist voters toward the GOP.

He might be right. Voters aren't turned off by the progressive ideas the Democrats seem poised to campaign on. Recent polls find that around 70% of Americans support higher taxes on the ultra-wealthy and 92% want Medicare to negotiate for lower drug prices. A recent Gallup poll found that 68% of Americans say money and wealth "should be more evenly distributed" in the U.S. Yet the word *socialist* turns off huge numbers of voters. Only 25% say they would back one for President.

Trump knows his audience. As the world watches his bombastic performances to tally up the mistruths and ugly rhetorical flourishes, Trump's eyes are squarely on the crowd at his rallies and the ecstatic receptions he receives. He has tested this line of attack against Democrats and has good reason to believe it can work. Bernie Sanders, one of the early Democratic presidential front runners, and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a fast-rising political star newly elected to Congress, have each embraced the label "democratic socialist."

To amplify this message, Trump will again demonstrate his proficiency at social media, weaponry well suited to blunt-force messaging dominated by ideological labels rather than incisive explanation of policy detail. Other surprise winners in recent international elections have learned from Trump's mastery of these tools; in Brazil, for example, Jair Bolsonaro's victory was powered by a "Brazil First" campaign on Facebook.

The polls may still be against another Trump win, but a resilient U.S. economy, a clever political message and ongoing changes to the ways Americans get their news suggest a fight to the finish. □

QUICK TALK

### Tim Berners-Lee

As the World Wide Web turns 30, its inventor discusses how to fix its problems.

**When you first envisioned the web, did you predict any problems?** From early on, we knew a powerful technology would be used for good and bad. But 2016 was a turning point. We had to make sure the web was serving humanity.

**Are you worried that data can be used to influence our behavior?** I've got a vision for an alternative world where data is at the beck and call of users. A world where you have complete control over who gets access to it. Where programs work for you, not for Amazon or Apple.

**Can we trust tech giants if profit incentives don't align with what's best for society?** There is a backlash coming. Maybe people will decide that they want to live in an ad-free world, and will do that by paying for it. There is also pressure on companies from consumers. And there's always the threat, in Europe especially, of regulation. —Billy Perrigo

Berners-Lee, speaking at the World Web Forum in 2017



## POLITICS

# A tale of two Elizabeth Warrens

By Anand Giridharadas

THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO ELIZABETH WARRENS: BANKRUPTCY Law Liz and Michelob ULTRA Betsy.

Bankruptcy Law Liz has more sweeping policy ideas than you have friends. She reads two books a week, which happens to be the number of books the median American reads in six months. She was a Harvard professor. She calls herself a “data nerd.”

Michelob ULTRA Betsy is an Okie by birth. She says “dang” and “golly” and “boo-hoo.” She puts an *h* before words that start with *w*, as in “hwhite.” She sounds like people who are probably unlikely to vote for her. She is a populist. And while Liz reads serious tomes, Betsy is currently on the fifth book in the *Victor the Assassin* series.

Recently, I got to interview both of these figures, who together make up Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts and presidential hopeful. We had breakfast together in New York City.

The next day I interviewed Warren onstage at the Texas Tribune’s daylong political chat fest at South by Southwest in Austin, a business and technology conference. It is the kind of place where it is safe to refer to yourself as an influencer.

I asked those in the audience who work for the tech giants she had just proposed breaking up to stand. “Can you explain to them why you want to break up the place they work?” I asked.

Her answer surprised me. “Because it will be a lot more fun to work there,” she said. It was as if she was making a startup pitch to the startup-pitch people: It’s like Google meets an ax. She wanted to distinguish the billionaire monopolist owners and investors from the rank and file of Big Tech, who she said would benefit from more competitive markets. It offered a clue to Warren’s philosophy—she is a reformer, not a revolutionary.

**WE TALKED ABOUT A RECURRING THEME** of her own life and her work studying other people: the way in which people mistakenly, in her view, blame themselves for problems that are systemic, structural, engineered through policy. We feel bad that we can’t keep to our diets, not realizing what Big Food is doing behind our backs. We feel bad that we can’t shake our iPhone addiction, not realizing how Big Tech has thousands of people investigating our psyches to render our willpower defenseless against its creations. If there is a motif of Warren’s

life—first as a young woman making her way in the world, let go from her job teaching special-needs children after her first year because she got pregnant; then as a scholar of bankruptcy; and now as a policymaker—it is a quest to help Americans grasp that what they might interpret to be their fault is often a more complex story about systems they cannot see and powerful interests they can’t easily fight alone.

She embraces Marie Kondo’s tidy-ing approach. She doesn’t embrace democratic socialism. She is a capitalist who celebrates markets that are fair and well policed (“Markets without rules are theft”). When I asked her if she agreed with the statement by Dan Riffle, policy adviser to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, that

“every billionaire is a policy failure,” Warren again surprised me. She gave a long answer about how it de-pends on the context.

If there were a society that had in place the policies she advocates for—universal child care, accessible education, well-regulated markets—and that society produced billionaires, good for them. No “Abolish Billionaires” for Warren. She is down with billionaires, as long as they are Norwegian.

And she can be quite funny. When I asked her whether she would vote to impeach President Trump today, she deferred to the coming Mueller report. Which prompted this from me: “I feel Mueller’s like this guy who keeps tak-ing you to a weekend away, and you think he’s going to propose every week-end, and it’s like, ‘Is this guy ever...?’ He puts his hand in his pocket, and you think the ring is definitely in the pocket. And then there’s no ring.”

“That said,” Warren replied, “you should remember he has produced 34 indictments and guilty pleas already. I don’t know about you, but I never had a boyfriend that good.”

Giridharadas is an editor at large for TIME and author of *Winners Take All*



**She is  
down with  
billionaires,  
as long as  
they are  
Norwegian**

SCANDAL

# The larger lie of elite higher education

By Bryan Caplan

THE FBI CHARGED A LIST OF WELL-HEELED PARENTS, including actors Felicity Huffman and Lori Loughlin, with fraud on March 12. Their alleged goal: to get their kids into top schools, including Yale and Stanford. The public reactions ranged from outrage to cynicism. The outrage: *These parents think they can buy their kids anything.* The cynicism: *These parents could have done the same thing legally by “charitably” funding a new building or two.* All this aside, the admissions scandal is an opportunity to separate the lofty mythology of college from the sordid reality. Despite the grand aspirations that students avow on their admission essays, their overriding goal is not enlightenment, but status.

Consider why these parents would even desire to fake their kids’ SAT scores. We can imagine them thinking, *I desperately want my child to master mathematics, writing and history—and no one teaches math, writing and history like Yale does!* But we all know this is fanciful. People don’t cheat because they want to learn more. They cheat to get a diploma from Yale or Stanford—modernity’s preferred passport to great careers and high society.

What, then, is the point of sneaking into an elite school, if you lack the ability to master the material? If the cheaters planned to major in one of the rare subjects with clear standards and well-defined career paths—like computer science, electrical engineering or chemistry—this would be a show-stopping question. Most majors, however, ask little of their students—and get less. Standards were higher in the 1960s, when typical college students toiled about 40 hours a week. Today, however, students work only two-thirds as hard. Full-time college has become a part-time job.

If computer-science students slacked off like this, employers would soon notice. Most of their peers, however, have little reason to dread a day of reckoning—because, to be blunt, most of what college students study is irrelevant in the real world. Think of all the math, history, science, poetry and foreign language you had to study in school—if you can. Indeed, you’ve probably long since forgotten most of what you learned about these subjects. Few of us use it, so almost all of us lose it. The average high school student studies a foreign language for a full two years, but, according to my own research, less than 1% of American adults even *claim* they gained fluency in a classroom.

WHY DO EMPLOYERS put up with such a dysfunctional educational system? Part of the answer is that government and donors lavish funding on the status quo with direct subsidies, student loans and alumni donations. As a result, any unsubsidized alternative, starved of resources, must be twice as good to do half as well. The deeper answer, though, is that American higher education tolerably performs one useful service for American business: certification. Most

THE ACCUSED



Actors Lori Loughlin (top) and Felicity Huffman are among 33 parents charged by federal prosecutors in a wide-ranging college-admissions cheating scheme that included allegedly paying others to take their children’s SAT exams

William Rick Singer, whose company allegedly funneled about \$25 million from parents to bribe coaches, university administrators and others from 2011 to February 2019, pleaded guilty to racketeering conspiracy and other charges



students at places like Yale and Stanford aren’t learning much, but they’re still awesome to behold if you’re looking to fill a position. Ivy Leaguers are more than just smart; when tangible rewards are on the line, they’re hard-working conformists. They hunger for conventional success. From employers’ point of view, it doesn’t matter if college fosters these traits or merely flags them. As long as elite students usually make excellent employees, the mechanism doesn’t matter.

So why cheat your kid into the Ivy League or a similarly elite school? For the lifelong benefits of corrupt certification. When I was in high school, my crusty health teacher loved to single out a random teen and scoff, “You’re wanted ... for impersonating a student.” If you can get your less-than-brilliant, less-than-driven child admitted, he’ll probably get to impersonate a standardly awesome Ivy League graduate for the rest of his life. Of course, the superrich parents the FBI is accusing could have just let their kids skip college and live off their trust funds, but it’s not merely a matter of money. It’s also about youthful self-esteem—and parental bragging rights.

As a college professor, I’ve spent years blowing the whistle on the wasteful system that employs me. When the FBI went public with this case, many of my Twitter friends declared victory on my behalf. Yet truth be told, this salacious scandal proves next to nothing. It just illustrates the obvious. Though we casually talk about our “institutions of higher learning,” little learning is going on. Sure, college is an intellectual banquet for the rare students with a passion for ideas and the energy to locate the also-rare professors with a passion for teaching. The vast majority, however, come in search of a stamp on their foreheads that says GRADE A—and leave with little else. If the parents accused by the FBI are guilty as charged, don’t say they failed to understand the purpose of a college education. Say they understood its purpose all too well.

Caplan is a professor of economics at George Mason University and author of *The Case Against Education*



Politics

# THE PATH TO IMPEACHMENT

**Top Democrats don't want to say it, but the House will likely move to oust President Trump**

By MOLLY BALL



*Trump has mused about the prospect of impeachment, but the White House hasn't taken steps to prepare for such a fight*

T

THERE'S ONE PERSON IN AMERICA WITH THE POWER TO MAKE Donald Trump's impeachment happen, and she keeps insisting she's not interested. "I'm not for impeachment," Speaker Nancy Pelosi said in an interview published March 11. "Unless there's something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan," she told the *Washington Post*, "I don't think we should go down that path."

Pelosi has been giving a version of this answer for more than a year now, but there's a reason she keeps getting the question. Whether Democrats will move to impeach Trump is the biggest political issue of 2019. And despite what Pelosi says, it's likely to happen.

Democrats control the House, and about three-quarters of their voters favor impeachment. A well-funded grassroots movement is mounting an aggressive campaign to pressure wavering lawmakers. Multiple investigations into the President, his business and his Administration are under way. The one led by special counsel Robert Mueller may conclude any day, but no matter what Mueller finds, many Democrats in Congress believe there's already ample evidence that Trump has committed crimes and proven himself unfit to serve. These lawmakers see a moral imperative to seek the remedy prescribed by the Constitution.

More than a quarter of the 235 Democrats in the House have already expressed support for Trump's impeachment. Virtually everyone else is taking a "wait for Mueller" approach. But no one is ruling it out. And to many, the prospect of opening impeachment proceedings against Trump seems inevitable. "It's not a matter of whether, it's a matter of when," as Representative John Yarmuth of Kentucky told CNN on March 12.

Democrats see a wide range of potentially impeachable offenses, including obstruction of justice, based on Trump's efforts to impede federal investigations, starting with the firing of FBI Director James Comey; accepting campaign assistance from Russia; violating campaign-finance laws by paying hush money to alleged mistresses; violations of the Constitution's emoluments clause; and abuses of presidential power. While Democrats in Congress expect the Mueller report will bolster the case, many believe they've seen ample evidence. "We have already seen deeply concerning evidence of the President's lack of fitness for office, the degree to which profound conflicts of interest may be guiding his foreign policy, as well as evidence of criminality on the part of the President," Representative Adam Schiff of California told reporters on March 12.

Conventional wisdom in Washington tends to treat impeachment as a fringe crusade, on a par with campaigns by antifluoridation activists or UFO enthusiasts, and views Pelosi as right to resist this momentum. Many believe it would be a political disaster for Democrats, galvanizing Trump's base and alienating moderates. Republicans have taken to goading their opponents to try it, while White House officials say they relish the prospect of the Democratic Party tearing itself apart over the issue. "It would play right into our hands," says a House Republican leadership aide.

But Pelosi is actually playing a deeper game. Her aides note that she's never ruled impeachment out. All she's done, they say, is set a standard: increased popular support and some degree of GOP backing. Behind the scenes, she and her team are working to see that standard is met. "The easy thing to do would be to start down the path of impeachment. That's a trap," a senior Democratic aide tells TIME. "Now that we have the gavel and can expose all of this wrongdoing, I think you will start to see a shift in public opinion and movement of Republicans."

For the past two years, the Democrats have coordinated their investigations and oversight of the Trump Administration in a regular Friday-morning staff meeting. Following a "culture of corruption" messaging framework set out in a memo by Representative John Sarbanes, they determine issues and people to target, parcelling out document and witness requests to various committees. Even without the House majority, the aide notes, this push contributed to the departure of four Cabinet officials accused of misconduct, and the public has heeded their work: according to a March Quinnipiac poll, nearly two-thirds of Americans now believe Trump committed crimes before becoming President.

Pelosi's two-pronged test aims to avoid what happened with President Bill Clinton's impeachment, which backfired on Republicans and boosted Clinton's popularity. When she first became Speaker in



2007, Pelosi quashed Democrats' zeal to impeach George W. Bush for the Iraq War, believing it was misguided. She believes her party won the 2018 midterms by focusing on issues like health care, not Trump.

But there are already signs Pelosi's standard could be met. Public support for Trump's impeachment hovers around 45% in recent polls. That's the highest for any President since Richard Nixon, whose impeachment was favored by 43% of Americans in March 1974, five months before he resigned. Large majorities say they would favor Trump's impeachment and removal from office if Mueller finds he authorized coordination with Russia or obstructed justice. To date, congressional Republicans have staunchly defended the President, who has the overwhelming support of the party's voters. But their calculation could change. "Someday, all of a sudden, it's going to be like the Berlin Wall coming down," George Conway, the prominent conservative lawyer and Trump critic who is married to White House counselor Kellyanne Conway, says of Republican support for the President. "You never know what straw is going to break the camel's back. But I firmly believe this is going to happen."

Over the coming months, Pelosi and her lieutenants will use congressional hearings and investigations to paint a picture for the public. This effort will constitute an impeachment drive in all but name. And while some House Democrats would rather use the *I* word from the start, most privately believe

they'll get there when the time is ripe. "There's remarkable consensus about impeachment now," says Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland, a former constitutional-law professor who serves on the Oversight and Judiciary committees. "The caucus does not want this to be a fetish or a crusade, but the caucus also doesn't want it to be a taboo."

The question of whether to impeach Trump isn't just a Washington parlor game. Attempting to undo the will of the voters and remove a duly elected President is one of the most consequential powers entrusted to the Legislative Branch. The next presidential election could hinge on how such an effort plays out. Yet much as Pelosi may not want to say it now, even her reticent Democratic allies in the House admit the push for impeachment is likely coming. "It gets more difficult to avoid every day," says a House Democrat who has voted against every impeachment resolution presented so far.

**ON A CHILLY RECENT MORNING** in Washington, Rita Fox descended an escalator to the bowels of a Marriott conference center. The vivacious 63-year-old Army veteran wore a navy blue **IMPEACH TRUMP** T-shirt featuring a peach with a swoosh of presidential hair. Around her neck, a laminated badge listed 10 of **TRUMP'S IMPEACHABLE OFFENSES**, from "conspiring with foreign actors to steal the 2016 election" to attacking the press. "I'm retired, but when anyone asks me what my job is, I say I'm a resister," Fox says.

Activists gather outside a Trump-owned building in New York City in 2017 to rally for the President's removal

"I am part of an army fighting to save this country. What the hell is wrong with our elected officials? Why haven't they done something about this man? They are allowing the greatest threat to democracy and the world to continue."

Fox had traveled to D.C. from St. Petersburg, Fla., to join 300 like-minded souls at a summit convened by Need to Impeach, the \$90 million pressure group funded by the liberal billionaire Tom Steyer. Many Democrats view Steyer as an annoyance; Republicans cast him as a shadowy bogeyman. But it's not just a one-man crusade. More than 7 million people have signed his online impeachment petition. Last year, 78,668 Need to Impeach activists wrote 1,645,805 personalized get-out-the-vote postcards to infrequent midterm voters in key House districts. Helping Democrats win the House wasn't the end of Steyer's crusade—it was just the beginning. Now he wants Democrats to follow through and impeach Trump. "God bless Robert Mueller, but we can't wait for him," says Steyer, a stern, impatient 61-year-old whose pale blond hair falls across his forehead. "We already have more than enough information."

More may be on the way. Political observers expect Mueller to wrap up his two-year investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election soon. If he implicates Trump in his final report, Mueller is expected to follow internal Department of Justice guidelines that say a sitting President can't be indicted. (This is a matter of DOJ policy, not law, and some scholars dispute it.) He'll also likely follow rules that require him to deliver his report only to the Attorney General, William Barr. It is up to Barr to decide what information to release to Congress. On March 14, the House is expected to pass a resolution calling for the report to be made public to the fullest extent possible.

That information, and whatever emerges from the Democratic investigations, will fuel a debate over what constitutes an impeachable offense. Article II of the Constitution states that federal officers, including the President, can be impeached for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Over the centuries, that's been interpreted as not necessarily criminal conduct but overall unfitness for office; the charges against the 19 officials who've been impeached since 1789, of whom eight were removed, range from drunkenness to violating the public trust.

So far, the investigations of Trump have produced smoke but no fire, says George Washington University legal scholar Jonathan Turley, who testified in favor of Clinton's impeachment and represented Louisiana judge Thomas Porteous, the last federal official to be impeached and removed, in his 2010 Senate trial. "The framers viewed it as applying only to crimes committed in office, and only crimes that were sufficiently serious to warrant removal," Turley says.

Trump crossed that line some time ago, accord-

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**AL GREEN,**  
Democratic  
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impeach Trump

ing to Representative Al Green, a solemn, ponytailed African American from Houston who has already introduced impeachment resolutions twice since January 2017. Both went nowhere under Republican leadership, but he is undeterred and plans to try again. "I'm standing on the grounds that the Constitution has put into place, on the foundation that the country rests upon," Green told TIME on March 12, in an interview in his office, where a framed copy of his 2018 impeachment resolution adorns one wall. That resolution garnered 66 Democratic votes. Green expects to win fewer this time, because of Pelosi's stance. "There are some people who say this will be a hard vote," he says. "We come here to take hard votes. That's what being in Congress is about."

Among Democrats, impeachment is hugely popular, with about as much support in polls as legal abortion (68%) or single-payer health care (70%). Even many Democrats who don't yet publicly support impeachment think Trump is a threat to American democracy, and feel they were elected in part to fight back, even if it costs them politically. An effort that tries to oust Trump but fails, some Democrats recognize, could actually help him win a second term. "But there's also a moral question," says one Democratic member of Congress.

Democrats are looking to Pelosi for guidance to navigate those hazards. In interviews with more than a dozen House Democrats, most praised the Speaker's impeachment remarks for sending the right message to the public and buying them time and space. "No one should be thinking we are chomping at the bit to start the impeachment process," says Representative Jim Langevin of Rhode Island. But many Democrats see the crush of investigations headed inexorably in that direction—there are at least 17 probing Trump, not including Mueller's. "At some point it's like, if this guy did this bad stuff, he needs to be impeached," says a different House Democrat who spoke on condition of anonymity. "And we need to do it, even if there's a political cost to it."

**FOR ALL THAT**, most people in Washington still insist it won't happen. Mueller could exonerate the President or present little new information. Given the feverish expectations among liberals—resistance websites do brisk business in MUELLER TIME T-shirts and the like—even a relatively damning report could be seen, or spun, as a disappointment, draining political momentum for ousting Trump. Barr could choose to share nothing with Congress and tie up Democratic attempts to gain access to Mueller's findings in court. And time is short. There's less than a year before primary voting begins for the 2020 election. Democrats, skeptics say, are likely to try to damage Trump with investigations, then hope the public rejects him at the polls.

The House could pass impeachment on a party-

**VIEWPOINT**

# LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE TRUMP'S FATE

By David French

IMPEACHMENT, AT ITS CORE, IS A POLITICAL ACT. The Founders of the United States intentionally delegated the ultimate check on the Chief Executive to the Legislative Branch, not to the Judiciary. The reason is plain. The weighty determination of whether to remove a President depends on factors beyond the mere application of law to facts. It is not a matter of rules of evidence and burdens of proof. Politicians also must consider the unity of the country and the function of its government.

In the coming months, as the public learns more details from the special counsel's investigation—and as the Southern District of New York busies itself with its own independent work—our nation is likely to gain a more complete picture of Donald Trump's conduct during and after the 2016 election. Already it looks quite likely that he committed criminal violations of campaign-finance laws when he concealed hush-money payments to Stormy Daniels. It is possible that Robert Mueller may reveal evidence of additional wrongdoing, perhaps even criminal misconduct.

If so, our political debate is likely to be dominated by a vitally important question: Does the President's alleged misconduct merit his removal from office? But we must also ask that fundamental question: Who should decide?

Barring unforeseen circumstances—including potent new evidence of gravely bad acts—will it be healthy for our nation to begin impeachment proceedings at the same time presidential primaries are under way? Or would it be preferable for the Democrats to diligently lay out the evidence and present the American people with an acceptable alternative?

As a conservative and frequent critic of the President, on this point I surprisingly find common ground with Nancy Pelosi, who said recently, "Impeachment is so divisive to the country that unless there's something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan, I don't think we should go down that path."

If he were alive today, Alexander Hamilton would nod right along. In "Federalist No. 65," he noted that prosecution of impeachable offenses would "seldom fail to agitate the pas-

sions of the whole community." It will "connect itself with the pre-existing factions, and will enlist all their animosities, partialities, influence, and interest on one side or on the other."

Given this reality, and a looming election, Pelosi is correct that the better course is to give the people the facts and let them decide the outcome. Indeed, the American people in 2020 will be in a far better position to render judgment than they were in the past two impeachment controversies. Evidence of Richard Nixon's and Bill Clinton's misconduct didn't fully emerge until well into their second terms. Voters had no opportunity to make a direct decision.

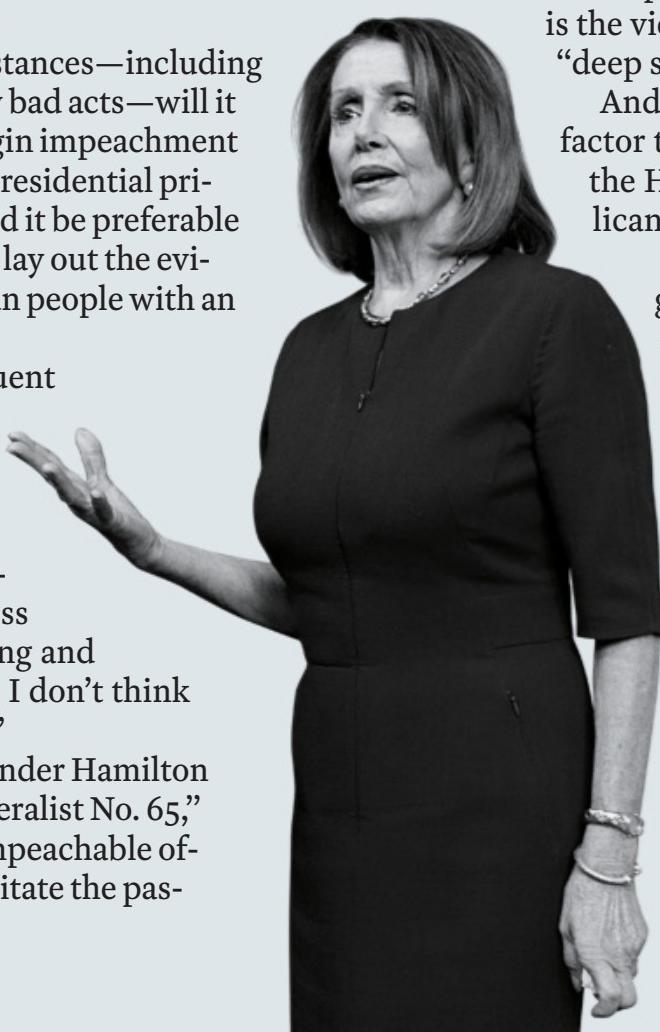
The calculus would likely be different if overwhelming evidence of wrongdoing emerged early in a President's first four years, when the American people would face the prospect of a full term with a probable felon at the helm. But that ship is sailing. The first Democratic primary debate is a mere three months away. Democratic candidates are already in Iowa and New Hampshire. Even if impeachment proceedings began almost immediately after Mueller issued his report, they'd be conducted in the heart of the presidential campaign.

**MOREOVER, NO ONE** should think that removal by the people is somehow an escape from accountability. Indeed, for Trump the consequences of losing in 2020 could be catastrophic. He'd forfeit his pardon power and be exposed to indictment and a potential trial. Submitting the question of removal to the people would also strip from the body politic the power of the Republican claim that Trump is the victim of a "soft coup" at the hands of the "deep state."

And let's not forget the important, relevant factor that as things now stand, impeachment by the House is an exercise in futility. The Republican Senate will not convict.

An inherently political process demands good-faith political considerations. At this stage of Trump's first term, the impeachment clock is ticking away. The path to accountability runs through the American people. Savvy politicians like Pelosi understand Hamilton well enough to know that America's "pre-existing factions" shouldn't be further inflamed absent the most compelling need, especially when the President will soon face the jury that truly matters—an engaged electorate ready to render its verdict.

*French is a TIME columnist, lawyer and senior fellow at the National Review Institute*



line vote, but it would then go to the Republican-controlled Senate for a trial that would require 67 votes to convict Trump and remove him from office. At least 20 Republicans would have to do so, an unimaginable number given GOP legislators' loyalty to Trump thus far. "The only thing worse than putting the country through the trauma of an impeachment is putting the country through the trauma of a failed impeachment," says Schiff.

The left argues that such a view hands Republicans a veto over the decision regardless of the merits. The impeachment process itself, advocates argue, could swing public opinion. In February 1974, they point out, just 38% of Americans supported impeaching Nixon. The House began an impeachment investigation nonetheless—and by April of that year, 52% of the public supported impeachment. By August 1974, Nixon saw the writing on the wall and resigned rather than allow the House to vote.

In fact, no President has been removed from office by Congress. Andrew Johnson was impeached in 1868, as was Clinton in 1998, but both times the Senate failed to convict. It's the Clinton drama that Washington remembers most vividly as a lesson in the perils of the process. Many of today's lawmakers were already in office at the time, and they remember how senior Republicans tried and failed to put the brakes on their colleagues in House. Clinton and his allies decried the investigation as a "witch hunt," and after his Senate acquittal, he claimed vindication and left office with high approval ratings.

The White House is convinced the same would happen now. Trump aides view Pelosi's protestations as an attempt to put down her rebellious left flank, but they don't think she'd allow impeachment to move forward. The White House counsel's office hasn't taken specific steps to prepare for impeachment, like standing up a war room or lining up outside lawyers. But if it does go forward, Republicans believe it only helps them make the case that Trump is being targeted by vengeful elites who look down on regular American voters. "For the center of the electorate, the prospect of impeachment is an incredibly unpopular thing," says GOP strategist Josh Holmes. "It's disruptive, it's seen as fanatical, it's aggressively partisan."

But the Nixon impeachment offers a different model, and it's one many of today's Democrats are following. "You had 18 months of suspicion, concern and inquiries about Richard Nixon's re-election campaign before any Democratic leader talked about impeachment," says historian Timothy Naftali, co-author of *Impeachment: An American History*, who last summer read the diaries of the Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress whose buy-in was crucial. Impeachment moved forward only "when a bipartisan group determined that there was a pattern of misconduct by Richard Nixon, based on an

ocean of material which raised the question of what the consequences would be for our Constitution if we allowed that man to get a pass."

Right now, there's strong and stable public support for Mueller and his investigation, despite months of the President and his allies painting the probes as "presidential harassment." Democratic pollsters say support for Mueller goes up when people are told about the number of charges the probe has already produced. Nearly 90% believe the Mueller report should be public, according to a February CNN poll. Despite entrenched partisanship, Americans profess to be open to accepting Mueller's conclusions. In a February, Washington Post/George Mason University poll, 61% said they would support impeaching Trump and removing him from office if Mueller concludes he authorized his campaign to coordinate with Russia, and 65% would support removal if he is found to have obstructed justice.

Soon, it will fall to Pelosi to try to bring Mueller's findings to light. "If you're ever going to get to impeachment, you need to get all that data," says Representative Mark Pocan of Wisconsin. Pocan once gave Pelosi a pair of oven mitts emblazoned with one of her favorite phrases: TOO HOT TO HANDLE. It's shorthand for her strategy of leveraging public opinion to pressure Republicans to do things they oppose, like ending family separations at the border or reopening the government. The idea is that no matter where your opponents start out, or how committed to the President they profess to be, when the politics changes, they'll change with it.

If the politics of impeachment do change, and Democrats initiate impeachment proceedings, the process would get under way with a vote in the Judiciary Committee, chaired by Representative Jerry Nadler, a no-nonsense New Yorker with a night-school law degree and a photographic memory for the various strands of the Mueller probe. Though Nadler nominally shares Pelosi's stance against impeachment, the standard he has set isn't quite the same as the Speaker's. Already he has said publicly that he believes Trump obstructed justice. Separately, he has said he sees attacks on Democratic institutions and the rule of law as impeachable offenses. And unlike Pelosi, Nadler believes Republican support isn't a prerequisite for opening an impeachment inquiry.

"We are not going to rule it out or in," Nadler tells TIME. "If our duty is to do it, we will do it. If it's not, we won't. Impeachment is not a punishment. It is not a political act to say we think it's a good idea to get rid of the President. Impeachment is a defense of the Constitution, a defense of liberty. It's a very blunt sword that should only be drawn if absolutely necessary. But it may be." —With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON, BRIAN BENNETT and PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON

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NADLER,  
Democratic  
chairman of the  
House Judiciary  
Committee, on  
the prospect  
of impeaching  
President Trump

**VIEWPOINT**

# IMPEACHMENT AND THE LAW

By Philip Bobbitt

WE FREQUENTLY HEAR THAT IMPEACHMENT is a “political question,” not a legal one. After all, Congress, which brings impeachment proceedings, is a political body. Gerald Ford, then minority leader of the House, even claimed in 1970 that the grounds for impeachment are whatever the House takes them to be by voting for an indictment.

But impeachment should be a matter of law. The Constitution does not say that the President can be removed whenever one-half of the House and two-thirds of the Senate want to do so. It specifies legal bases for pursuing it: “Treason, Bribery or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.” The text commands the Senate to “try” the case referred to it by the House. It requires Senators to take a special oath to apply the law of the Constitution. It provides that the trial is presided over by the Chief Justice. In “Federalist No. 65,” Alexander Hamilton took pains to show that Senators can in fact act in “their judicial character as a court for the trial of impeachments.”

The politicization of impeachment stems in part from the phrase *other high Crimes and Misdemeanors*. Treason and bribery are clear-cut. But treason is applicable only in wartime, and proving bribery requires evidence of a corrupt motive, which is usually hard to find. So nine days before the framers signed the Constitution, George Mason expressed the concern that all “attempts to subvert the Constitution” were not covered. After some debate, they settled on the phrase *other high Crimes and Misdemeanors*.

The key to construing the legal meaning of this otherwise elusive phrase lies in the word *other*. The “high” crimes and misdemeanors that serve as the basis for impeachment must be offenses like treason and bribery. They must be extremely serious *constitutional* offenses, acts that subvert our basic political and governmental processes.

Which brings us to the 2016 election and the Trump presidency.

The hacking of the Democratic National Committee in 2016 was clearly legally comparable to the Watergate burglary of the DNC in 1972, which led the House Judiciary Committee to approve articles of impeachment against Richard Nixon. We don’t yet know whether Donald Trump is implicated in the hack, but even if he isn’t, the Watergate precedent applies if he contrived to use his office to thwart an investigation into the crime. After all, there was no evidence that Nixon knew about the Watergate burglary beforehand.

What about the digitalization of disinformation by Russian agents in 2016? If implicated in this activity, President Trump could be impeached, even though those actions would have occurred before he took office. Mason observed during the Constitutional Convention that a President “who has practiced corruption & by that means procured his appointment in the first instance” might properly be impeached.

**ARTICLE I, SECTION 9** of the Constitution contains the emoluments clause, which prohibits federal officeholders from accepting payments or gifts from a foreign state without the consent of Congress. Can a violation warrant impeachment? The answer turns on whether U.S. policy is affected. For example, Trump could be impeached if he showed leniency toward Saudi Arabia or Russia in return for payments made to the Trump Organization, even if those payments are not provable bribes.

The President can be impeached for promising or granting pardons. Suppose a President were to announce and follow a policy of granting full pardons to all federal agents or police who killed anybody in the line of duty in the District of Columbia, whatever the circumstances and however unnecessary the killing. Such an act is not unequivocally unconstitutional, given the sweep of the President’s pardon power, yet no one should doubt that such a policy would be a breathtaking abuse of executive authority of the kind and on a scale that plainly subverts the political and governmental process.

Over the past 20 years, we have drifted toward making impeachment a political decision, determined by polls and calculations of partisan advantage. That course should be reversed before it further undermines the Constitution that the impeachment clause is meant to protect.

Bobbitt is a co-author, with Charles L. Black Jr., of *Impeachment: A Handbook*



World

# AFRICA'S NEW SLAVERY PROBLEM

THE TRADE IN HUMAN BEINGS THRIVES ON THE ROAD TO EUROPE

BY ARYN BAKER/BENIN CITY, NIGERIA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME



Blessing, 29, a Nigerian woman trafficked into sex work, waits for customers in Sicily, Italy



World

By the time his Libyan captors branded his face, Sunday Iabarot had already run away twice and had been sold three times.



The gnarled scar that covers most of the left side of his face appears to show a crude number 3. His jailer carved it into his cheek with a fire-heated knife, cutting and cauterizing at the same time.

Iabarot left Nigeria in February 2016 with a plan to head northward and buy passage on a smuggler's boat destined for Europe, where he had heard from friends on Facebook that jobs were plentiful. The

journey of more than 2,500 miles would take him across the trackless desert plains of Niger and through the lawless tribal lands of southern Libya before depositing him at the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. He never made it. Instead, he was captured the moment he arrived in Libya, then sold to armed men who kept a stable of African migrants they exploited for labor and ransom.

The brand on his face, he says, was both punishment and a mark of identification. Fourteen other men who attempted to escape the fetid warehouse where they had been held as captive labor in Bani Walid, Libya, for several months in 2017 were similarly scarred, though the symbols differed. Iabarot, who is illiterate, wasn't sure if they were numbers or letters or merely the twisted doodles of deranged men who saw their black captives as little more than livestock to be bought and sold. "It was as if we weren't human," the 32-year-old from Benin City, Nigeria, tells TIME.

Iabarot is among an estimated 650,000 men and women who have crossed the Sahara over the past five years dreaming of a better life in Europe. Some are fleeing war and persecution. Others, like Iabarot, are leaving villages where economic dysfunction and erratic rainfall make it impossible to find work or even enough to eat. To make the harrowing journey, they enlist the services of trans-Saharan smugglers who profit by augmenting their truckloads of weapons, drugs and other contraband goods with human cargo.

But along the way, tens of thousands like Iabarot are finding themselves treated not just as cargo but as chattel and trapped in a terrifying cycle of extortion, imprisonment, forced labor and prostitution, according to estimates by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime. "They are not only facing inhuman treatment. They are being sold from one trafficker to another," says Carlotta Sami, southern European regional spokesperson for UNHCR, the U.N. refugee agency. Essentially, they are slaves: human beings who have been reduced to being possessions with a fixed value, based on assessments of the kind of income they can accrue to their owners as targets for extortion, as unpaid labor or—as is often the case with women—prostitutes.

Slavery may seem like a relic of history. But according to the U.N.'s International Labor Organization (ILO), there are more than three times as many people in forced servitude today as were captured

and sold during the 350-year span of the transatlantic slave trade. What the ILO calls "the new slavery" takes in 25 million people in debt bondage and 15 million in forced marriage. As an illicit industry, it is one of the world's most lucrative, earning criminal networks \$150 billion a year, just behind drug smuggling and weapons trafficking. "Modern slavery is far and away more profitable now than at any point in human history," says Siddharth Kara, an economist at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy.

The corridor from Africa's most populous country to its northern Mediterranean shores has proved especially lucrative. As conflict, climate change and lack of opportunity push increasing numbers of people across borders, draconian E.U. policies designed to curb migration funnel them into the hands of modern-day slave drivers. The trade might be most visible in Libya, where aid organizations and journalists have documented actual slave auctions. But now it is seeping into southern Europe too—in particular Italy, where vulnerable migrants are being forced to toil unpaid in the fields picking tomatoes, olives and citrus fruits and trafficked into prostitution rings.

"We no longer need slavers going into Africa to capture their quarry," says Aboubakar Soumahoro, a union representative who came to Italy from Ivory Coast 17 years ago with the hope of finding a better life. "The rope of desperation has replaced their iron chains. Now Africans are sending themselves to Europe and becoming slaves in the process."

**WHEN IABAROT REACHED** Libya's southern border, he met a seemingly friendly taxi driver who offered to drive him to the capital city, Tripoli, for free. Instead, he was sold to a "white Libyan," or Arab, for \$200. He was forced to work off his "debt" on a construction site, a pattern that repeated each time he was sold and resold. "If you work hard, you get bread," he tells TIME from the darkened room of an abandoned hotel in Benin City that the Nigerian government is using to house human trafficking victims rescued from Libya. "If you refuse to work, you are beaten. If you run away and get caught..." His voice trails off. The scar on his face says the rest.

In 2016, the year Iabarot set out from



Nigeria, the number of migrants arriving in Italy from Libya spiked to 163,000, prompting a political backlash and a determination to stanch the flow at all costs. In February 2017, the E.U. launched a plan to train and equip the Libyan coast guard to intercept smuggler boats and keep the migrants in detention camps.

Two years later, the arrivals in Italy are down 89%. But the policy has caused a bottleneck on the other side of the Mediterranean and a lingering humanitarian crisis. The IOM estimates that nearly half a million sub-Saharan African migrants are currently trapped in Libya, ripe for exploitation by armed groups and corrupt officials. Julie Okah-Donli, director general of Nigeria's National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons, went on a fact-finding mission to Libya last year after hearing reports of Nigerians living in "slavelike conditions." She tells TIME she was sickened by what she saw. "In some of the camps we visited, they had already taken truckloads of the guys to go work on the farms and in the factories for no pay at all. As long as they are in those camps, they are treated like slaves."

When CNN aired footage of what appeared to be African migrants being sold at a slave auction at a Libyan detention camp in November 2017, the outrage

**Sunday Iabarot,**  
32, shows the  
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a fixed value, based on assessments of the kind of income they can accrue to their owners as targets for extortion, as unpaid labor or—as is often the case with women—prostitutes.

Slavery may seem like a relic of history. But according to the U.N.'s International Labor Organization (ILO), there are more than three times as many people in forced servitude today as were captured

# World

was immediate and global. The U.N. Security Council condemned the “heinous abuses,” the E.U. demanded “swift action,” and French President Emmanuel Macron called for a military rescue operation.

Yet just over a year on, little has been done to prevent these abuses. E.U. member states are renewing calls to halt Europe-bound migrants at the Libyan coastline. “The situation for refugees and migrants in Libya remains bleak,” says Heba Morayef, Middle East and North Africa director for Amnesty International. “Cruel policies by E.U. states to stop people arriving on European shores, coupled with their woefully insufficient support to help refugees reach safety through regular routes, means that thousands of men, women and children are trapped in Libya facing horrific abuses with no way out.”

When Joy, a 23-year-old Cameroonian university student, arrived in the coastal Libyan city of Sabratha in August 2017, she thought she was well on her way to France to pursue her dream of becoming a fashion model. But a government-backed militia, emboldened by the E.U. deal to crack down on migrant smuggling hubs, raided the compound where she was staying. She was picked up by a rival group and locked in a room with scores of other women for several months. The women were expected to work as prostitutes, and some were sold to buyers looking to staff their own brothels. Joy, several months pregnant at that time, was largely left alone, she says, but the conditions were “inhumane.”

Joy, who speaks the polished French of an educated woman, says the E.U. directive to curb migrant arrivals not only emboldens corrupt Libyans but also amplifies their deep-seated prejudice against black Africans. “The Libyans understood that if the E.U. doesn’t want blacks to come, it means we are not valuable as humans,” she tells TIME, cradling her newborn, in a shelter for trafficked women in Lagos, Nigeria. “The E.U. is essentially rewarding these militias for abusing us, for raping us, for killing us and for selling us.”

**THE MIGRANTS WHO** do make it across the Mediterranean are not free from the cycle of exploitation. On an autostrada in Puglia, southern Italy, last August, a van

packed with Africans slammed headlong into a tomato truck and flipped across the meridian. Twelve of the migrant laborers, who had spent a grueling day working the harvest, died in the crash. It was the second such accident in two days. In total, 16 men—from Ghana, Guinea, Gambia, Nigeria, Mali, Morocco and Senegal—died that weekend.

They had been ensnared by an ancient Italian system of press-gang labor called *caporalato* that enables farmers to outsource their labor needs to middlemen for a set fee, avoiding payroll taxes, work-safety requirements and minimum-wage payments in the process. It is illegal, widespread and dominated by organized crime. A 2018 report commissioned by Italy’s trade unions estimates that some 132,000 workers suffer from the most exploitative aspects of *caporalato*, including nonpayment of wages and physical abuse. Most are migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Eastern Europe.

“*Caporalato* has been around forever, but the system really takes advantage of migrants because of their vulnerable status,” says Yvan Sagnet, a 33-year-old antislavery activist from Cameroon who has been living in Italy since 2010. “They don’t have papers, they don’t know their rights, and they are desperate to earn money.”

Sagnet would know—he was sucked into the *caporalato* system as a foreign student when a failed exam resulted in the loss of his university scholarship. A friend told him he could make money on the summer tomato harvest in Puglia, but when he arrived, he says, he was inducted into a system designed to extract the maximum amount of work for minimal pay.

The capo, or boss, told Sagnet he could make up to €30 (\$33) a day filling crates with tomatoes. What he didn’t mention was that the cost of transportation to the fields would be deducted from his wages, along with his water and his food. “At the end of the day, I was making €4. It wasn’t work. It was slavery. But most people had no choice,” says Sagnet.

A day after the second transport accident in Puglia, Italian Interior Minister



*Tens of thousands of mostly migrant laborers toil in fields across southern Italy during the harvest months, often for only a handful of euros a day*





Matteo Salvini, who is also head of the far-right, anti-migrant League party, decried the Mafia's role in the region's exploitative labor practices. Then he blamed the migrants: "These episodes tell us that out-of-control immigration helps the Mafia. If there were no migrants desperate to be exploited, it would be more difficult for them to do business." Stopping migration, he said, would put a stop to organized crime. It would also mean the end of inexpensive tomato sauce, wine and olive oil, says Sagnet, pointing out that Italians aren't willing to work 16-hour days, or harvest tomatoes for €3.5 a crate.

*African day laborers who are part of the caporalato system of cheap labor work the fields around Foggia, Italy*

"The problem isn't the Mafia or the migrants. It's the cost of cheap goods," he says. When retailers tell farmers they will only buy tomatoes for 8¢ a kilo, says Sagnet, the farmers can't afford to pay normal wages. But if the stores charge more, customers will go somewhere else. Sagnet, who now runs an antislavery organization called No Cap, for "no to caporalato," says uber-competitive grocery stores are contributing to the abuse of migrant labor.

Sagnet estimates that the true retail cost of a kilo of tomatoes, including transport and processing, should be around €2 (\$2.25). "If you go to the market and see them for 30¢, it means they used caporalato. There is no other way to get tomatoes that cheap." Sagnet estimates that 3 out of 5 items in every Italian's weekly food basket, including wine, cheese, fruit, vegetables and olive oil, are produced in part by unfair migrant labor.

It's not just Italians who benefit. The modern consumer's insatiable quest for \$10 manicures, shiny new smartphones and cheap luxury foods comes at the cost of unfair labor. Everyday goods linked to the slave trade include cell phones, pet food, jewelry and canned tomatoes. The 2018 Global Slavery Index found that G-20 countries import some \$354 billion worth of products at risk of being produced by modern slavery every year.

In Italy, Sagnet's organization is launching a certification process that will enable farmers to market their produce as slavery-free and local distributors to



# World

place certified products in grocery stores. Customers are already accustomed to paying slightly more for organic produce, he says. Now they will have the choice to buy bondage-free items as well. "Organic is important, but isn't it also important to know that there was no slavery involved in the making of the food you eat?"

**EUROPEAN CUSTOMERS ARE** also responsible for a different kind of exploitative trade. Of the 16,000 women who arrived in Italy from Libya from 2016 to 2017, an incredible 80% fell victim to sex trafficking, according to the IOM—destined for a life of sexual slavery in the streets and the brothels of Europe.

One such woman is Gladys. At age 22, she left Nigeria after an aunt's friend offered her a job in a hair salon in the far-away city of Turin, Italy. Her trafficker kept her locked in a Libyan brothel, she says, denying her food and drink until she agreed to service clients. In the end, she sold her virginity for a plastic jug of water.

Finally arriving in southern Italy on a smuggler's boat, she called the aunt's friend, who said the job was still waiting. She even offered a place to stay. But when Gladys arrived in Turin, the woman's warm phone demeanor disappeared. Gladys owed €20,000 (\$22,530) for the trip, she was told, and would have to work it off walking the streets as a prostitute. "I went to her house for help, thinking I would find comfort in a fellow Nigerian," says Gladys bitterly. "Instead, she wanted to use me." Gladys had no money, no papers and no place to stay. She says she had no choice but to do what the woman demanded.

Across Italy, Nigerian women are slowly displacing the Eastern Europeans who once dominated the illicit sex industry. Most, like Gladys, are from Nigeria's impoverished rural southwest, where generations are seeking their fortunes abroad. Recruiters, often in the guise of concerned family friends, lure young women—and convince their parents—with promises of money to be made in Europe's hair salons, hotels and boutiques.

Once in Europe, the women are told that they owe anywhere from \$20,000 to \$60,000 to cover the cost of their jour-



ney. They are threatened with abuse, deportation or harm to their families back home if they don't pay. Once the debts are paid off, after three to five years of several \$25 tricks a day, the trafficked women usually stay on in Europe to earn money on their own and perhaps return home with enough funds to buy a house, start a business or support their family. Often, says Okah-Donli of the Nigerian anti-trafficking organization, the returnees become madams themselves, flaunting their wealth to lure new victims to Europe and perpetuating the cycle. That's what Gladys thinks happened to her aunt's friend in Turin.

Despite the threats from her madam, Gladys escaped as soon as she was able to skim a few hundred euros from her daily earnings. But freedom was no better. Alone and terrified of being deported, Gladys reluctantly returned to what

she knew best. Several months ago, she heard about a program in the northern Italian city of Asti that helps trafficking victims with job training, counseling and housing. But resources are few, and the organization, Progetto Integrazione Accoglienza Migranti (PIAM), has space for only 250 women. Gladys spent several months on a waiting list before the program could offer her shelter and counseling.

The need for more services is immense, says founder Princess Inyang Okokon, who was trafficked to Turin from Nigeria in 1999. Okokon estimates that there are 700 to 1,000 sex trafficking victims who need help in the Asti region alone. "Everyone talks about the problems of trafficking, but there is no discussion on what happens after a girl is trafficked," says Okokon.

It's not surprising that many trafficked



women return to prostitution, she says. Jobs are limited in Italy, even for the women who have learned Italian or who have the right to stay. And few want to return to Nigeria, laden with debt and the stigma of what they have done. “It isn’t a simple issue of them being economic migrants—no, they were trafficked here, so they can’t just be sent back,” Okokon says.

**SOME ESCAPE THIS** cycle of modern slavery, but it’s a fraught and complex process. After his final escape from his Libyan captors, Iabarot managed to scrape together enough money to purchase a place on a smuggler’s boat. Within hours of departing, he was rounded up by the Libyan coast guard and sent back to a detention camp. Terrified of facing another round of torture and forced labor, Iabarot volunteered to return to Nigeria through

an IOM repatriation program. A week later, on March 22, 2018, he and 148 other Nigerians landed in Lagos on a chartered plane. It was no small irony that Iabarot and his fellow Nigerians, many of them rescued from cases of indentured servitude, forced labor and outright slave auctions, were processed through the cargo terminal.

So far, more than 10,000 Nigerians have returned home through the aid agency’s repatriation program. Each returnee is given a phone, a meal and the equivalent of €100 (\$112) to get home. Once they are settled, they can apply for work training and small-business grants, but for most, homecoming is a bittersweet experience. “A lot of them took loans to pay the smugglers, or their families sold everything they had. So when they come back empty-handed like this, it’s a challenge,” says IOM’s migration

program manager in Lagos, Abrham Tamrat. Many end up trying to go back to Europe.

Yet putting a stop to this sector of modern slavery starts by stopping irregular migration, says Kara, the slavery economist. A 2016 IOM report found that 7 out of 10 migrants crossing from North Africa to Europe had experienced exploitation of some kind or another, including kidnapping for ransom, forced labor, illegal detention and sexual violence. As conditions in Libya deteriorate, the situation is likely to get even worse. In Europe, anti-migrant sentiment is driving those without papers deeper underground, where they are more vulnerable to exploitation.

By 2050, 40% of the world’s poorest people will be living in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria, according to the 2018 Gates Foundation Goalkeepers report. If the right investments aren’t made now, says Okokon, of the Italian antitrafficking organization PIAM, even

Gladys, far left, a Nigerian woman trafficked into prostitution, with other victims of trafficking in a women’s shelter near Asti, Italy

more people will risk the journey abroad. “If you really want to stop sex trafficking, give young Nigerians a reason to stay home. Invest in our youth. Give them jobs. If Nigeria is good for them, they won’t risk their lives coming to

Europe.” At the same time, she adds, it’s essential to open up more venues for legal migration. It is nearly impossible for young Africans with little means to come to Europe, yet there is clearly a demand for their labor. “Europe needs farmers, domestic workers, people to harvest. Africa has that.” Soumahoro, the union representative in Italy, puts it more bluntly: “Humans are being sold because the embassies of Europe won’t give visas to Africans.”

As long as the opportunities for men and women like Iabarot are limited in their home countries, they will continue risking everything to find something else in Europe. Iabarot says he wouldn’t go through Libya again, but he would consider leaving again by a different route. “I had to leave because there was nothing for me here. There still isn’t,” he says. “So what should I do?” □

*The daughter  
of a preacher,  
Hollis has found  
her own flock:  
moms who lack  
confidence*



Society

# THE NEW GURU OF GIRL TALK

This time last year few people had heard of **Rachel Hollis**. Now millions have read her self-help books. What exactly is she selling?

By Belinda Luscombe

KARA KADING WISHES SHE WEREN'T crying, but there it is. The mother of three from Racine, Wis., is working two jobs so her kids can go to a private Lutheran school. She has just sat through a day of lectures for one of them, helping to sell essential oils from her home. And now she has met the conference's keynote speaker and the woman who has helped her hold it all together, Rachel Hollis.

"She makes me feel like it's O.K. to be me," says Kading, 40, who started a book club just to read Hollis' first self-help book, *Girl, Wash Your Face*. "That I don't have to listen to the voice in my head that tells me I can't do this."

Hollis, 36, a 5-ft. 2-in. dynamo, has just spent an hour onstage at the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta. But she still has bubbles to spare. She signs whatever each woman brings her and leans in for selfies. Despite the fact that she's been up since before 4 a.m., her cheer and warmth never flicker.

Of course, Hollis has never sold essen-

tial oils. She has no need. She's already found the perfect product to pitch you, dear modern woman. She figured out just the thing you need. It will change your life.

The product is you. Hollis is 100% persuaded that you are the answer to all your problems. You just need to invest in you, to believe in you, to prioritize you.

*Girl, Wash Your Face*, which came out in February 2018 and expounded on this theory, was the No. 2 best-selling book of the year, right behind Michelle Obama's *Becoming*, according to Amazon. About 1.5 million people have bought it so far, and its insights have been celebrated by Jen Hatmaker, Drew Barrymore and Reese Witherspoon. It's also been derided as dangerous nonsense by both liberal media outlets and conservative Christian ones, a twofer few books can manage.

As of March 5, it has a sequel. *Girl, Stop Apologizing* is more tactical, and even more insistent on women's need for self-improvement. "I don't think that a beautiful life happens unintentionally,"

# Society

she tells me before her speech. "I think that you have to decide what kind of life you have." It hit No. 1 on Amazon in its first week.

**THERE'S NOTHING REVOLUTIONARY** about Hollis' advice. Get healthy, get up earlier, choose a goal, plan how to reach it, ignore the naysayers and work the live-long day. But her pithy, just-between-us-girls voice is both Instagram-quote-worthy and has the urgency of a siren. "I no longer spend a single second of my life worrying about what others think of me for having dreams for myself," she writes in *Stop Apologizing*.

Her popularity, which came as a shock to the book industry (she had already written three novels and two cookbooks, all selling in the low thousands, according to NPD BookScan), is one of those barometric indicators that mark the cultural weather fronts in the U.S. To some, Hollis is their relatable best friend, a successful working mom of four who tells it like it is, isn't afraid to be vulnerable and has motivated them to up their game. She talks about how she overcame being bad at sex, the time she peed her pants, her boob job, her mommy guilt and her hairy toes.

The conference at which Hollis is speaking is organized by doTerra, a multilevel marketing organization (MLM). The mostly female attendees have been invited because they've persuaded a number of people to become doTerra wholesalers, to buy a preset amount of oil each month that they can then try to resell to friends. MLMs, which are often compared to pyramid schemes, have come under fire for overpromising results and trapping people with too much product. (A doTerra spokesperson says 80% of its customers buy for personal use without intending to resell.) They also offer one of the few jobs women with small kids can do on their own time. All they need is a work ethic and ties to the local community. Hollis speaks at a lot of MLM events. It's exactly the kind of crowd she thrives on.

To her critics, Hollis is a vapid purveyor of false hope and white privilege. She tells women their problems will be solved if they just work harder and journal more intentionally. She ignores structural inequities, racial disparities and economic pressures, essentially asking women to put out fires with their bare hands. For

all her willingness to talk about anything, she pointedly avoids politics. "I only want to talk about things that I'm really passionate about," says Hollis. "I don't like politics because I don't have faith in [politicians] at all."

When pushed on whether it's unfair to tell moms to fix their own lives without addressing, say, the parlous state of America's family-leave policies, Hollis displays, for the first time, a reluctance to step up. "I start to worry that if you share too much of that stuff, it's like you're trying to tell people to vote a certain way," she says.

Hollis also gives her haters plenty of ammunition. Among the revelations in her new book, for example, is that one of the daily affirmations she writes for herself is that she only travels first class. She opens Chapter 6 proclaiming that 850,000 people saw her fail, only to explain that she told her followers she wanted a *New York Times* best seller and *Wash Your Face* took 10 weeks to get there.

**SOME CRITICS BOTHER** Hollis more than others. She finds the accusation that she can't possibly know what it's like to struggle pretty easy to shrug off. As she tells it (her parents declined to be interviewed for this story), Hollis grew up no stranger to want. Her father was a Pentecostal preacher, as was his father. Her family lived near Weedpatch, Calif., a community that John Steinbeck drew on for *The Grapes of Wrath*. Her parents fought often and frequently separated.

One Monday morning, when her older brother Ryan was supposed to take her to school, she found him dead from a self-inflicted gunshot wound. "I am still here," she writes, "because I will not let a nightmare have more power than my dreams."

Hollis finished high school early and hightailed to Los Angeles, where she interned at Miramax. From there she started an events company (Chic Events), which became an online lifestyle blog (MyChicLife), which then began to veer into self-help (The Chic Site) and was recently rebranded the Hollis Company, specializing in "arming people with the tools to make positive and lasting change."

Each business iteration marked a phase in Hollis' metamorphosis from marketer to motivator of women. "For the longest time, it was sort of like, Here's my life and my kids, and here I am with



*"You would never let someone talk to your children the way you talk to you," Hollis told the crowd in Atlanta*

this [laundry] detergent," she says, of the sponsored content she used to produce. "But that started to feel very soul-sucking." Having suffered from anxiety, she began to post about her vulnerabilities. She saw the response those got and began to reorient her content. Whether Hollis has described the plight of most American women with any degree of accuracy is open to debate, but clearly millions of them—and even some men—feel seen.

Backstage at the doTerra event, the lone man waiting to meet Hollis, Troy Miller, 50, from Toronto, said he'd never heard of her before the weekend, but he and his fellow travelers had listened to her audiobook on the long car ride down. "I don't relate to all of it," he says. "But don't we all compare ourselves to others and have a negative voice in our head?"

**HOLLIS HAS ADEPTLY** ridden several waves in her rise to the top: the emergence of a new type of Christian, a more widespread desire for women's empowerment, the gig economy and the dawn of



the Instagram age. She writes freely about her faith, and anthropologists would put her in the tribe of so-called hipstians, hipster Christians who follow Jesus with the ardor of Ned Flanders but different sartorial choices. They tend to live in cities, have no problem with same-sex marriage or feminism, believe climate change is real and might even vote Democratic. (Hollis voted for Hillary Clinton and President Obama.) And they're hungry for cultural role models like Hollis, both for lifestyle tips and personal direction.

That said, not every Christian loves her. The Gospel Coalition, a Christian leadership training group, recently called her advice "exhausting and damning" because it locates self rather than God as the ultimate source of salvation.

Hollis has needed little institutional help in building her brand. She acquired hundreds of thousands of social-media followers even before the self-help books. But beyond that, almost her entire post-high school education has come via the web, conferences, YouTube vid-

eos and podcasts. (She is a Tony Robbins fanatic.) In the way of the Internet, she aggregates liberally for her content. She built her companies "through hard work and hustle and the wealth of knowledge that can be found from a Google search bar," she writes.

A 2015 bikini post that showed off her stretch marks is textbook Hollis. Rather than bemoan her fate, she captioned the beaming self-portrait with an ode of gratitude to her body for bearing her three sons: Jackson, 12; Sawyer, 10; and Ford, 6. "They aren't scars, ladies, they're stripes, and you've earned them. Flaunt that body with pride!" (She also has an adopted daughter, Noah, 2.) Practically overnight, her followers more than doubled.

Almost every day, Hollis and her husband Dave, 44, stream a show on Facebook where they talk about their lives. Topics range from why she got acrylic nails to how to make a business idea a reality to what it was like to be interviewed by TIME. (Despite her determination not to care about others' opinions, she replays the inter-

## RACHEL HOLLIS INC.



**Both her advice books have become No. 1 best sellers**

**1.2M  
INSTAGRAM  
FOLLOWERS**



**The stretch-mark photo that went viral**

view in her head, judging her answers.)

**YOU CAN'T BE A FAN** of Hollis' without also adoring Dave, whom she jokingly refers to as her "emotional-support animal." They met when she was 19. They married when she was 21. She thanks him for "covering my losses" early in her career. Their marriage—and his puppy-dog devotion to her—is a big part of her brand's appeal.

Last year, he left his job as an executive at Disney to run the business side of her company, which they recently relocated to Austin. During our interview, he sits a few yards away from her, chiming in when he wants to amplify one of her answers, even though he knows it looks like mansplaining. "Honey, it's O.K.," says Hollis. "You're fine, babe!"

Now she and Dave have what Hollis would call "big, obnoxious dreams" for the Hollis Company. They're going out on their own. They've committed to a bunch of speaking engagements and business deals this year, but they don't want to take on more. Any content they produce will be made for the Hollis Company, like the series of lectures listeners can access for a monthly fee starting at \$39. Hollis will be speaking only at their own conferences, known as Rise.

Over the past year, Hollis has surpassed many of the goals she wrote in her journal. It's clearly a bit disorienting. "I manifested all the things I wrote down," she says. "But I ... I don't know how this sounds—I wrote down the wrong thing. I wrote down goals that were about myself and who I wanted to be, and maybe not as much about what I wanted to create for other people."

Often, contemporary women are painted as ambitious go-getters delaying marriage and family for a shot at their dream job. But Hollis seems to have found a different group, women who aren't sure what they want or who they should be. They like the mess of marriage and kids and keeping a home together and shopping at Target (which sold tens of thousands of Hollis' books), but their lives aren't quite how they'd pictured them. Hollis gives these women permission to pursue a dream, a way to be someone other than somebody else's something. She might not be everyone's idea of a revolutionary, but for many women, she's what change looks like. □

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FROM USING DRUGS  
I'M AT MY WIT'S END

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# timeOff

MORNING GLORY  
The interview of  
a lifetime brings  
Gayle King's long  
career as a trusted  
journalist into  
sharp focus

## INSIDE

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PHOTOGRAPH BY IOULEX FOR TIME

# TimeOff Opener

TELEVISION

## Gayle King (finally) gets her due

By Belinda Luscombe

**L**OOK UPON GAYLE KING, YE MERE MORTALS, AND weep. Unless you set your alarm for 3:22 a.m., have two full-time jobs, got your biggest break at 56, are the dream interviewer of most living authors and once received a \$1.2 million check from your best friend, you are not keeping up. Do you buy your co-workers lottery tickets when the jackpot gets above \$300 million? Slacker. Somewhere in the world is someone prepared to say something even a tiny bit unflattering about you? Thought so. King has you beat. King has us all beat.

This was not supposed to happen. King, 64, had carved a very comfortable groove in the public consciousness as Oprah's best friend. She was the plus-one, the sidekick, the friendly wingwoman you bring along to the party because everybody likes having her around and she doesn't threaten anyone. She was Robin to Oprah's Batman, Keith to Oprah's Mick, Samwise to Oprah's Frodo. She was not offered the role of star of the show.

But King is not a just-meet-expectations kind of person. She is now the most senior host of one of the most watched news shows on TV, *CBS This Morning*. And she just pulled off a once-in-a-decade interview—more jaw-dropping than when Diane Sawyer introduced us to Caitlyn Jenner or when Anderson Cooper talked to Stormy Daniels.

Perhaps the R&B star R. Kelly, 52, thought King would throw enough softball questions that he could blast a home run past her polite but firm inquiries about whether he'd held women against their will or physically abused them, or had sex with minors, as has been alleged. (Kelly was charged with 10 counts of aggravated criminal sexual abuse in February; he pleaded not guilty.) During the interview, which took place at the Trump International Hotel and Tower in Chicago on March 5, he ranted to the camera, played the victim and claimed his accusers were lying. At one point he jumped up and addressed the camera. "You killing me, man! This is not about music! I'm trying to have a relationship with my kids!" As he towered over King, she sat and watched him, staying just cool enough to let him keep ranting but just warm enough to keep him in the room. King throws the kind of softballs you don't worry about until someone calls strike three.

MUCH WAS MADE of King's ability to remain calm during the interview. But it's not like she's new at this. Lots of people seem not to know it, but she has been a TV journalist for over 40 years, first in Baltimore (where she met Oprah), then in Kansas City, Mo., then for 18 years in Hartford, Conn. She was not burning with ambition to get national exposure. "I liked it there," said King in her office, a few months before the R. Kelly interview. "I liked having a sense of community. I liked being a big fish in a little pond. I got married there, divorced there, had [two] children there. I've never felt that,



King with, from left, her WFSB co-anchor Dennis House in Hartford, morning co-hosts Norah O'Donnell and Charlie Rose at CBS in 2016, and her most recent newsmaking interview subject, R. Kelly, in Chicago

'Oh, now, that you're on national news, you've made it."

In 1999, as the Connecticut job was wrapping up, she joined *O, the Oprah Magazine*. "It was a learning curve because I had no magazine experience," she says. "Oprah and I joked that we were Stevie Wonder and Jose Feliciano. It was the blind leading the blind." Nevertheless, the magazine, a joint venture with Hearst, thrived and now has a circulation of 2.4 million.

TV remained her first love, however, a holdover from when her engineer father took the family for a few years to Turkey, and she had to go without it. She took whatever little assignments she could get, mostly at ABC, kept up her habit of exceeding expectations, and when CBS reconfigured its morning show in 2011, she was invited to take a seat. These days she often goes directly from CBS to her editor-at-large job at *O* for a few (more) hours' work before getting ready for an evening party or obligation.

"I believe you can ask any question," she says. "Even a very difficult question. You just have to have the right time. You have to have the right setting." When interviewing Elizabeth Smart, who was kidnapped and held for nine months when she was 14, for example, King asked the difficult but necessary question of how she didn't get pregnant by saying, "It's a miracle you didn't have a baby." When interviewing Kelly's two live-in girlfriends, Azriel Clary, 21, and Joycelyn Savage, 23, she was more direct: "Is it a three-way sexual relationship?" she asked. Clary refused to answer, saying she imagined King wouldn't either. "This is a very different circumstance,"



noted King, before moving on.

"What I wanted to say—but I didn't want to get snippy with her the way that she got snippy with me—was 'Listen, listen, little girl, you don't even know what you're saying right now,'" says King. "And one of these days you're going to regret this moment.' But I decided there's no point in doing that. And by the way, I talked to her father yesterday, who apologized for his daughter's behavior." That's right, King can facilitate a young woman displaying her worst self on TV and have her dad apologize for her.

King is prepared to ask any question, and to deal with any outburst, because she is one of the world's most assiduous doers of homework. If she's interviewing an author—which she does almost daily—she reads the whole book. When I visited the set of *CBS This Morning*, she came into the green room several times to make sure that day's guests were O.K. Some interviewers like to have their guests off-balance. Not King: she even went to meet Kelly and his dogs, Popcorn and Believe, 15 minutes before the cameras rolled. "I didn't want him to walk in the room and sit in the chair and the first time we had any conversation, it's lights, camera, action," she says.

Perhaps "Robert," as King kept calling him (she uses people's first names the way police use sirens), or his team should have conferred first with Brené Brown, the author of several best-selling books on human emotions, who has worked with both King and Oprah. "Don't mistake her kindness for softness," Brown says of King. "People always ask me what [she and Oprah] share

in common. The only answer I come up with is that they are both equally kind and fierce. Tough and tender. That's the highest compliment I can pay anyone."

**THE OLDEST** of four girls, King fits right in with the theory that suggests first-borns are more likely to be conscientious and high-achieving. She's such a hall-monitor type that she told Ellen DeGeneres on air that she had never had a "marijuana cigarette." After an unfortunate vomiting experience at a Christian youth leadership conference in high school, she doesn't drink. "Everyone thinks I'm in recovery," she says. "I just really like Shirley Temples."

Despite her straight-arrow ways, it takes quite a lot to lose King's loyalty. She caught her husband sleeping with another woman, and although they divorced, they are still friends. (PSA: She would like a new man, younger than her and taller than her 5 ft. 10 in., if anyone knows anyone?) Three of her CBS News colleagues were felled in quick succession after sexual-misconduct allegations: co-host Charlie Rose, *60 Minutes* producer Jeff Fager and CEO Les Moonves. She remains friends with her old seatmate. "I'm not going to abandon Charlie Rose because he's now a member of the #MeToo club," she says.

It's not lost on King that some of her biggest interviews, including with Kelly, have come via the same movement that brought shame on her network and, indirectly, dragged down its ratings. In

February she scored interviews with Michael Jackson's accusers, as well as the singer's family. While she's a supporter of the changes—"Young women coming up today will know that they will be believed"—she also hopes for a path to redemption. "I don't think [the accused] have to be persona non grata for the rest of their lives."

But she put pressure on her employer in September, demanding publicly that the report CBS ordered on Moonves be made public. "I didn't even think that was a brave thing to say," she says. "It was just so shocking to me that we could have this report, and be all lofty about how we're going to be transparent, then not tell us what happened." In December the network released

a statement, but not the full report. (King's contract is up this year, but she's not discussing the negotiations.)

Trust is in short supply on the American media landscape. It is no longer simply accorded the people who bring the news. King's rise suggests that now is the time when faithful lieutenants rather than swashbuckling captains get to step up, that a solid history of loyalty and an inclination to direct attention where it needs to be directed, rather than to be at the center of it, is what viewers want. "I don't run away from 'You're Oprah's best friend,'" says King of her reputation. "It would be silly for me to say, 'There's so much more to me than that!' That would be stupid. I think all you have to do is turn on the TV and draw your own conclusions." □

# TimeOff Television



Annie (Bryant) dips a toe into self-acceptance

REVIEW

## In *Shrill*, another fat lead whose character is too thin

By Judy Berman

THERE'S A SCENE IN THE NEW HULU DRAMEDY *SHRILL* THAT I can't get out of my head. Upon arriving at an event called the Fat Babe Pool Party, heroine Annie (*Saturday Night Live's* Aidy Bryant), an assistant at a Portland, Ore., alt-weekly, and her roommate Fran (Lolly Adefope) are awestruck. Amid pastel balloons, plush pillows and animal-shaped inflatables, self-identified fat women of all proportions wade and lounge in swimsuits without shame. As Fran hits on the hostess, Annie, whose jeans and blouse betray her discomfort with her own plus-size form, gets pulled into a dance party. The camera lingers on appreciative (but not creepy) shots of jiggly flesh.

It's a startling set piece—not just because it ends with Annie stripping down to her one-piece, but also because it shows us something we rarely see on TV. Even as *inclusion* becomes a Hollywood watchword, it's a rare mainstream narrative that allows female characters who don't meet impossible beauty standards to enjoy their lives, let alone their bodies. This is *Shrill*'s greatest triumph: it establishes a fat-positive gaze that humanizes rather than humiliates. But its greatest failure, one that works against that radicalism, is its insistence on connecting Annie's every struggle to her weight.

Based on journalist and comedian Lindy West's essay collection *Shrill: Notes From a Loud Woman*, the show opens with a series of indignities rooted in Annie's size and resultant low self-esteem. A personal trainer pesters her in a coffee shop to schedule a session. Her mom (Julia Sweeney) admonishes her for complaining about the revolting frozen-dinner diet they've gone on together. Her boss Gabe (John Cameron

**'Almost no one ever looked or sounded like me.'**

**AIDY BRYANT,**  
on not having role  
models growing up,  
to the New York  
*Times*

Mitchell), an aging punk who pens diatribes against obesity, rejects Annie's story ideas. In bed with steady hookup Ryan (Luka Jones), she agrees to sex without a condom, then slips out a back door so his friends don't see her, takes the morning-after pill and gets pregnant anyway because she exceeds its weight limit. The pilot ends with a refreshingly unceremonious abortion. Annie vows to start valuing herself more.

Thus begins her quest to extract the same respect from others. She stands up for herself with Ryan and Gabe—and responds to one of Gabe's rants by posting a rogue rebuttal to the paper's website. (West published a similar viral piece in 2011, out of frustration with the chronic fatphobia of her *Stranger* colleague, the sex columnist Dan Savage.) In a plot adapted from West's best-known essay, Annie confronts an Internet troll fixated on her size, and he immediately confesses that he hates himself.

**THOUGH BRYANT MAKES** a likable, authentic lead, these constant crusades make Annie a bit one-note. A supporting cast that's long on charm seems stymied by characters short on interiority. These are likely side effects of adapting personal essays. An almost inevitably (and sometimes purposely) solipsistic form, this kind of narrative by definition reduces the author's experiences and personality to vehicles for a larger revelation. Unfortunately, such limited character development pushes *Shrill* into the same frustrating territory as so many other TV series about fat women.

Whether they're self-loathing sad sacks (see: "Fatty Patty" on Netflix's noxious *Insatiable*, Chrissy Metz's Kate Pearson on *This Is Us*) or the Strong Female Protagonists of supposedly subversive shows like *Drop Dead Diva* and 2018's short-lived *Dietland*, women on TV who are bigger than a size 12 end up reckoning with their weight in practically every episode. Sure, it's exciting to see the best of these characters overcome the self-loathing that's been instilled in them. But like all underrepresented groups that are too often defined by their struggles, they'll still feel like tokens until pop culture starts putting *Shrill*'s fat-positive gaze to use in stories that have nothing to do with size. □



Siriano, right, takes the stage

REVIEW

## Making it work, without Tim

Heidi Klum and Tim Gunn are—as Heidi might say—out, just as their pioneering fashion competition *Project Runway* returns to its original home of Bravo after 11 seasons on Lifetime. And though Gunn sometimes seemed to be on autopilot in recent years, his departure threatened to be devastating. When the news broke that his successor would be *Runway's* most accomplished alum, Season 4 winner and red-carpet staple Christian Siriano, fans had to wonder: Does a pixieish 33-year-old have the gravitas to replace Tim?

Not really. Instead, Siriano makes the role his own in Season 17. Less an avuncular guru than relatable role model, he's kept his signature bluntness but toned down the sass that characterized his first *Runway* stint. If they're not as charming as Gunn's mini therapy sessions, at least they're more specific.

From Klum's competent replacement Karlie Kloss to Bravo's relatively subtle product placement, other changes shift the focus to the show's real stars: the contestants. There's Renee, whose incredible productivity makes sense when you learn that she got into design after raising nine kids. Kovid, a starry-eyed ball of energy who grew up gay in the Indian Himalayas, bonds with *Runway's* first trans model, Mimi, over their shared stories of oppression. New characters like these have kept the show vital for 15 years, and it's largely to their credit that it continues to thrive after the departure of its most beloved presence. —J.B.

REVIEW

## A scam in Silicon Valley

By Eliana Dockterman

FOUR YEARS AFTER THE WALL STREET Journal reported that Theranos founder Elizabeth Holmes falsified the results of her supposedly revolutionary blood-test machine, she continues to draw attention. In the past several months, Holmes has been the subject of John Carreyrou's best-selling book *Bad Blood*, a podcast called *The Dropout* and now *The Inventor*, an HBO film by prolific documentarian Alex Gibney.

In two hours, Gibney does an efficient job of recapping the rise of Theranos to a \$10 billion valuation and its epic fall. In the most compelling segments, he lays out how famed inventors, including Thomas Edison, faked it until they made it—stalling for time with the public until they reached a breakthrough. Holmes, Gibney argues, just took that entrepreneurial spirit too far.

But Gibney never quite connects the dots between Holmes and the factors that facilitated her rise. The fact is, Holmes would never have been able to pull off her scam if she'd been a random Stanford dropout. She leveraged her rarefied background to sustain the lie. Though the documentary suggests that

Holmes essentially seduced her famous male board members, who included Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, that seems suspect: any woman will identify Holmes as a CEO desperate for the Valley to forget her gender. (She wore black turtlenecks, lowered her voice several octaves and publicly declared she did not date—though this, too, was a lie.) The men she hustled were probably seduced by her pedigree; in the film, Theranos chairman Don Lucas says that he knew Holmes, then a 22-year-old startup founder, “came by it naturally” because her great-grandfather was an entrepreneur and her great-uncle a famous doctor—as if her bloodline, not her work, was what mattered.

Like so many tech upstarts, Holmes projected unwavering confidence, flying exclusively on private jets even while her empire crumbled. She's a captivating antihero, maybe because it's unusual for women to operate with that level of entitlement. But Holmes' story works best as the ultimate example of how the privileged believe they can get away with anything—whether that's in Washington, Hollywood or Silicon Valley. □



With her distinctive style and low speaking voice, Holmes built a cult of personality

# TimeOff Reviews



Easy does it for Schoenaerts and friend

## MOVIES

### Two wild souls meet in *The Mustang*

By Stephanie Zacharek

STORIES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE redeemed by animals are a dime a dozen, and that's fine by me: Give me dozens! Even so, *The Mustang*, Laure de Clermont-Tonnerre's debut feature, is one of the better ones. Matthias Schoenaerts plays Roman Coleman, an angry, withdrawn convict at Nevada's Ely State Prison who's assigned to work in a program training feral horses, readying them for auction. The program's director—played by Bruce Dern, in fine ornery-old-coot mode—gives Roman a chance with a truly regal beast, a mustang with a silky-looking coat of golden brown dusted with powdery silver, who has no intention of being tamed. A fellow inmate and ace horse trainer, Henry (played by the always terrific Jason Mitchell), shows Roman the ropes and sees a glimpse of promise in his sullen eyes. Naturally, the horse—whom Roman names Marquis after seeing the name in a magazine article, though he pronounces it "Marcus"—takes longer to be convinced.

You can probably guess every beat of *The Mustang* ahead of time, but what does that matter? The picture, shot by Ruben Impens, is gorgeous to look at.

The remote desert setting, with its molten-red sunsets and vistas of chalky mountains, looks like both the beginning and the end of the earth, starting and resting point at once.

But the film really belongs to Schoenaerts, a wonderful actor who doesn't get big Hollywood roles, perhaps because no one knows quite what to do with him. Roman says little and thinks a lot, before speaking; Schoenaerts lets us see how much the words cost him. His most natural language is spoken through his glance: there, we see wariness giving way to cautious trust. The same can be said of his four-legged co-star, whose sideways gaze also has its own rich vocabulary.

In one of the movie's most stunning scenes, Roman and Marcus—after almost literally butting heads—reach a truce. Roman has given up on his stubborn charge and slumps to the ground in anger. Marcus nuzzles his way into the frame, handing over his trust with a few short puffs of breath, an equine blessing. It's one of those moments that remind us we don't deserve animals—and still, they stick by us, as if we were worthy of their love. □

## MOVIES

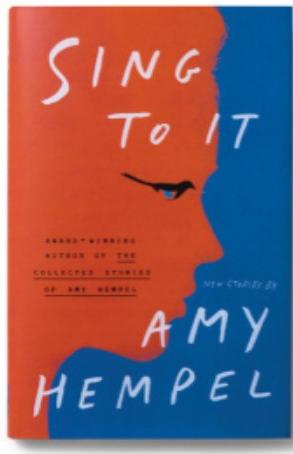
### Knightley saves *The Aftermath*

At first glance, there's nothing special about James Kent's post-World War II romantic drama *The Aftermath*, about an upright British colonel (Jason Clarke) and his unhappy but dutiful wife (Keira Knightley), who requisition the grand Hamburg house of a genteel German architect (Alexander Skarsgård). The picture is handsome, tasteful, a bit snoozy. But somewhere around the midpoint, Knightley has a scene—a raw, intimate confession—that practically explodes the movie.

Knightley is such a consistently good actor that it's easy to take her for granted, especially if you're not drawn to the period dramas in which she's often cast. As Rachael, a woman whose burdens threaten to break her, Knightley shows so much elegant restraint that it's easy to think she's doing nothing. But really, Rachael is tending a secret garden of suffering whose walls are slowly crumbling. When her reserve collapses, something breaks in us too—perhaps the plan Knightley has been laying all along. We usually think of seduction in sexual terms, but Knightley draws us in with intellect and spirit. If period dramas are her forte, so be it. Not everyone is this good at delivering messages from the past. —S.Z.



Knightley and Clarke:  
hiding the strain



STORIES

## Long-awaited shorts

Over a career spanning decades, Amy Hempel has developed a reputation for writing short stories that run the full gamut of human emotion, seamlessly layering conflicting feelings into a single work. Stories like her first, "In the Cemetery Where Al Jolson Is Buried"—a perennial read for college literature students—have secured her as an essential voice in contemporary American short fiction. Thirteen years after her last book, *The Collected Stories*, was published to widespread acclaim, her highly anticipated follow-up, *Sing to It*, continues in the tradition she's worked in for years.

While most of the 15 stories come in under two pages, they are no less potent than her longer works. "Fort Bedd" and "The Second Seating" depict small moments—a morning in a lover's bed and a dinner out with friends—hefty in their unspoken melancholy. In "Greed," a woman's account of her husband's affair unspools toward a delightfully twisted conclusion. The final and longest story, "Cloudland," about a woman looking back on her stay at a boardinghouse for pregnant teens, offers Hempel at her best: oscillating between hilarity and pain in a way that feels utterly human.

—Wilder Davies

FICTION

## Witness to difference

By Naina Bajekal

WHEN LAILA LALAMI'S 2014 NOVEL *The Moor's Account* was short-listed for a Pulitzer Prize, jurors called its tale of a 16th century Spanish expedition to Florida "compassionately imagined out of the gaps and silences of history." Five years on, Lalami turns that same compassion to the silences of the present. In her timely fourth novel, *The Other Americans*, she follows an investigation into the death of an elderly Moroccan immigrant in an apparent hit-and-run and its impact on a California desert town.

Through nine narrators—from Coleman, a black detective, to Efraín, an undocumented immigrant who witnesses the crash—Lalami offers a compelling portrait of race and immigration in America. The driving force of the narrative is a classic whodunit, but more interesting questions lie beneath: What does it mean to feel alienated from your family or country? Who gets to be heard, and who is silenced?

Lalami, who was born and raised in Morocco, knows her subject intimately. In an essay on becoming a U.S. citizen after marrying an American, written in the wake of President Trump's travel ban in 2017, she wrote: "America em-

braces me with one arm, but it pushes me away with the other."

Politicians talk about dialogue in a time of polarization, but it's rare to see what form that might actually take. Lalami offers us a model, showing how the victim's daughter Nora, who grew up in a Muslim family in post-9/11 America, and her childhood friend Jeremy, an Iraq War veteran, find empathy for each other. For the first time, Jeremy sees himself through the eyes of someone who cannot think of him as a hero. "Long before I'd gone to war, war had come to her—a brick thrown in her father's window, a slur written on her locker," he thinks.

The alternating narrators occasionally overwhelm Lalami's storytelling, since the voices do not always vary enough to capture a shift in perspective. But Lalami is remarkably skilled at rendering the interior lives of her cast. From Jeremy's guilt over what he saw in Iraq to Efraín's sense of being haunted by the old man's ghost, the characters' feelings of responsibility trouble them, and move us. "There wasn't anything I could do. All I saw was a man falling to the ground," Efraín says. But in America today, bearing witness is never quite so simple. □



*The decorated novelist teaches writing at the University of California*

## PROFILE

# Maren Morris is country's future

By Raisa Bruner

IT'S A COLD NIGHT IN NEW YORK CITY THE EVENING before her album is set to drop, and country star Maren Morris is performing a stripped-down set of new songs to a crowd of fans, mostly young women, at an intimate performance space at YouTube's office. After she begins one—an acoustic number for which she slings on a guitar over her neon crop top—she stops halfway through the first line, shaking her head.

"You'd think I'd know the lyrics," she jokes. "I wrote them!" She starts up again, and this time she nails it. Later, she performs her lead single—the anthemic "Girl," after which the album is titled—a second time too, thanks to sound issues. "My voice is on the fritz!" she says.

Technical troubles aside, Morris knows how to deliver. After striking gold with her debut country single "My Church" in 2016, she had a huge global hit with last year's Grammy-nominated pop-EDM smash "The Middle," a collaboration with the DJs Zedd and Grey, which helped make her a mainstream star. "We do a lot of fencing-in to female artists to try to have them fit what we think the mold looks like," she says in an interview. "With 'The Middle,' it was actually bringing a whole world of people in saying, 'Who's this Maren Morris chick on this massive song?'"

On her new album, *Girl*, out now, Morris answers that question by defying genre once again, her twang rising over layers of glossy pop, R&B and soul. In that versatility, Morris represents a new generation of women in country who are working to transcend the boundaries of their Nashville roots.

THE CONTEMPORARY COUNTRY-MUSIC establishment is a notoriously difficult space for women to succeed. Even Grammy-winning artists like Kacey Musgraves and Miranda Lambert struggle to get airplay. Charts are overwhelmingly stacked with men, and Spotify showcases just a scattered few female voices on its official country playlist. It wasn't always this way: Dolly Parton, the Dixie Chicks, LeAnn Rimes and more artists once reigned, while crossover acts like Shania Twain achieved record-breaking successes. But in the past decade, women have ceded ground to a battalion of male superstars, making Morris' success all the more impressive.

Born and raised in Texas, Morris made her way to Nashville as a songwriter six years ago.

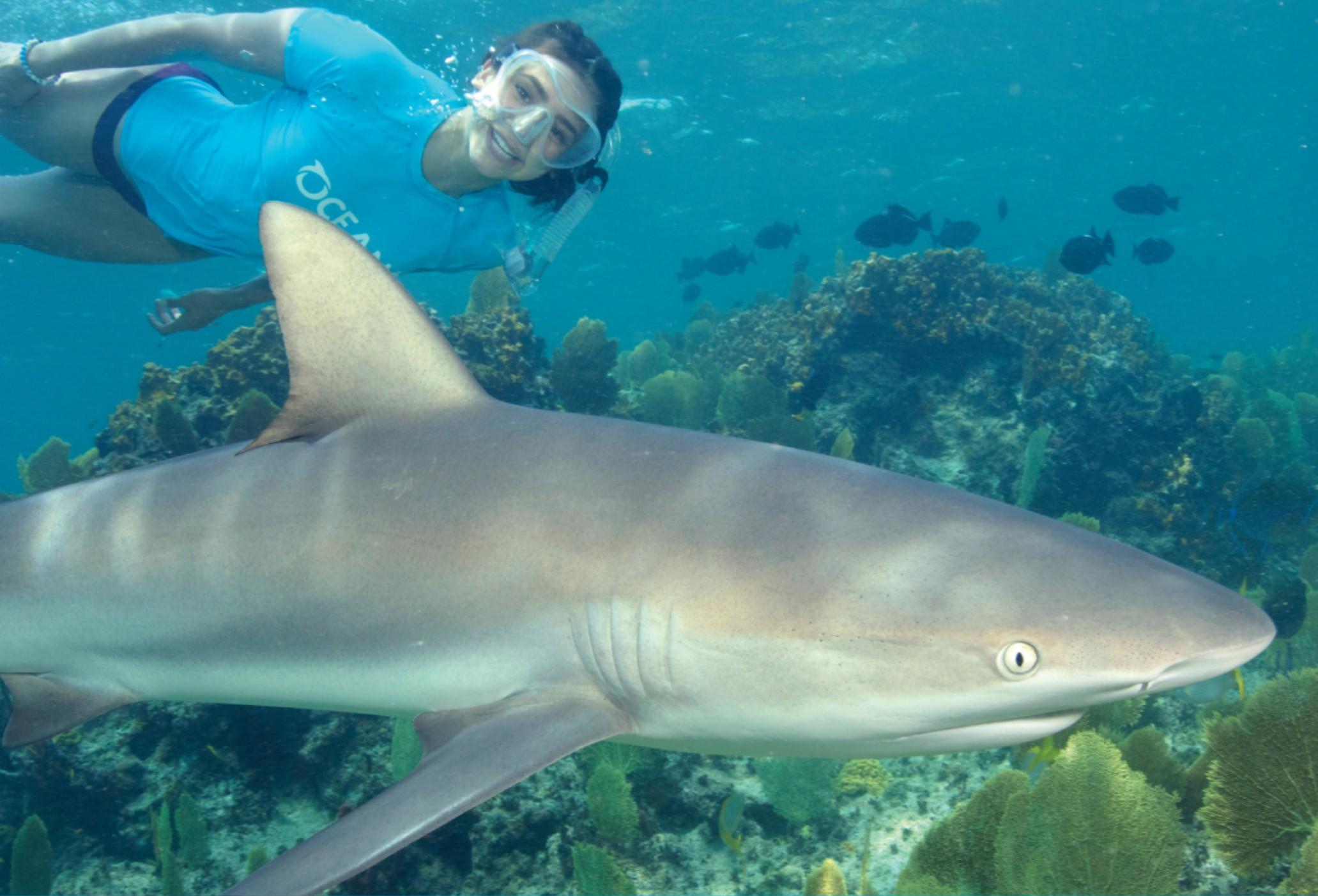


For her sophomore album, Morris wrote with pop and country hitmakers. "You can be a whole spectrum of things," she says

Her debut album, *Hero*, released in 2016, earned a Grammy nomination and helped her win New Artist of the Year at the CMA Awards. But in its wake, she made choices that broadened her appeal: "Dear Hate," an emotional duet with Vince Gill following the 2017 Las Vegas shooting, as well as a collaboration with One Direction's Niall Horan on his folksy solo album. She wanted to expand her reach, bringing her "flavor of country" past the bounds of the region and its built-in fan base—and, by extension, its gender imbalance. "Maren has a willingness and enthusiasm that allow her to draw outside the lines," says Zedd, her collaborator on "The Middle." "[She]'s clearing a wide path for women." For her part, Morris sees a Nashville that's starting to change, one that's receptive to the diversity of opinions and sounds she represents. "You don't have to be just one color," she says. "You can be a whole spectrum of things."

*Girl* reflects that ambition. There are shades of earnest soul in her unity-themed duet with Americana star Brandi Carlile, as well as stomping, boozy country on a collaboration with Brothers Osborne—yet her song "RSVP" is an unabashedly steamy R&B jam. She's said that the title of the album is a jab at the boys' club that makes up the charts. But Morris doesn't want to leave country behind—she just wants everyone else to join a more inclusive party. "My definition of a country song is: It's about real life," she says. "It's telling a story."

# Oceana & Nina Dobrev Want to save sharks.



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**- Nina Dobrev, Actress and Ocean Advocate**

Sharks keep the oceans healthy and aren't really interested in us. It's actually our interest in their fins that's scary. Millions of sharks end up in the global fin trade every year.

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# 8 Questions

**Dr. Eric Topol** In his new book, *Deep Learning*, the cardiologist argues that artificial intelligence can bring humanity back to medicine

**Y**ou tweet several times a day about the latest medical studies. Do you really read all of those articles? Every one of the 18,000 tweets come from me. People think I have an army of people to help me—no. I'm an information junkie. Ever since I was a kid I've been an incessant reader. I apportion time every day—a couple of hours in the morning and the evening.

**What is the biggest problem you see in medicine today?** What's happened is an erosion of the relationship, due to the lack of time doctors have with patients. We use keyboards and screens, and it's led to depersonalization of the doctor-patient relationship.

**How do we re-establish that relationship?** The answer came when I started a deep dive into artificial intelligence. It dawned on me that using technology to enhance humanity is the ultimate objective here. It's counterintuitive. But for doctors, what this means is the ability to have all of the data about a person assimilated and analyzed, to have scans and slides read. That liberates doctors from keyboards so they can look patients in the eye.

**People can track their health now with their smartphones. Is that a good thing?** Some of that data will be enlightening, and really helpful. But some of it is going to be terrible noise and even lead to unnecessary testing and anxiety. It's a mixed bag. But we've seen citizen empowerment across all other sectors, and while health care is trailing, it is going to continue to get a lot of momentum.

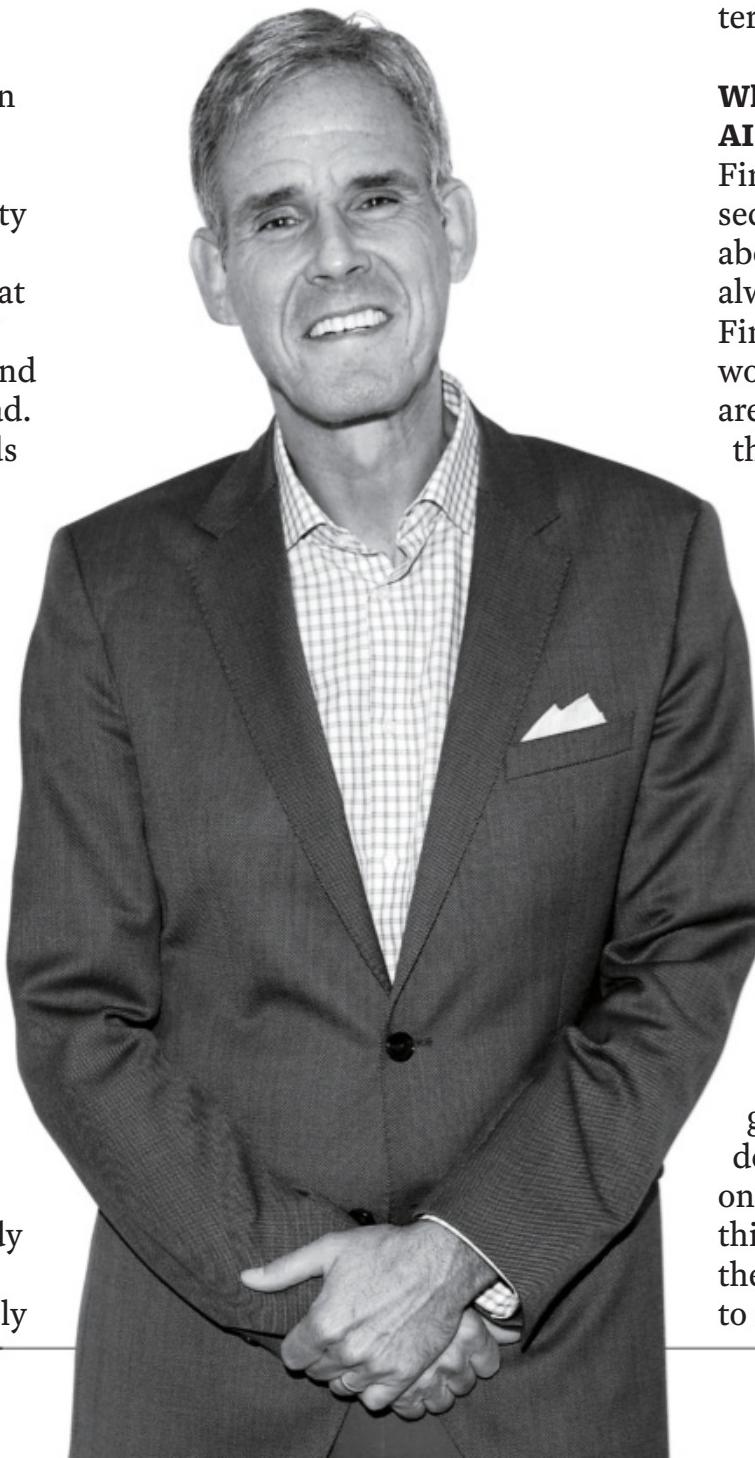
**What are the best examples of how AI can work in medicine?** We're seeing rapid uptake of algorithms that make radiologists more accurate. The other group already deriving benefit is ophthalmologists. Diabetic retinopathy, which is a terribly

underdiagnosed cause of blindness and a complication of diabetes, is now diagnosed by a machine with an algorithm that is approved by the Food and Drug Administration. And we're seeing it hit at the consumer level with a smart-watch app with a deep learning algorithm to detect atrial fibrillation.

**Is that really artificial intelligence, in the sense that the machine has learned about medicine like doctors?** Artificial intelligence is different from human intelligence. It's really about using machines with software and algorithms to ingest data and come up with the answer, whether that data is what someone says in speech, or reading patterns and classifying or triaging things.

**What worries you the most about AI in medicine?** I have lots of worries. First, there's the issue of privacy and security of the data. And I'm worried about whether the AI algorithms are always proved out with real patients. Finally, I'm worried about how AI might worsen some inequities. Algorithms are not biased, but the data we put into those algorithms, because they are chosen by humans, often are. But I don't think these are insoluble problems.

**Will we ever have an AI doctor to take care of all of our medical needs?** The pinnacle of AI is being fully autonomous. But I don't think that will happen in medicine; AI will always need human backup. A machine could handle certain things autonomously—diagnosing a skin rash, for example. Doctors shouldn't be dealing with things that machines will do better than them. But serious conditions, like getting a cancer diagnosis, are what doctors should be working on. I think once patients understand that there are things they don't need doctors to do, they would love it—once they get used to it. —ALICE PARK



‘AI [IN MEDICINE] WILL ALWAYS NEED HUMAN BACKUP’

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